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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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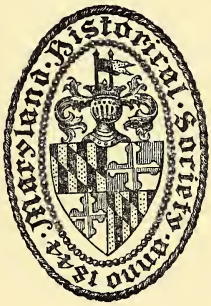

VOLUME XXX

BALTIMORE

1935

Vol. XXX MARCH, 1935 No. 1

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PUBLISHED BY
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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BALTIMORE

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VOLUME LI

Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of Maryland, 1669-1679.

(Court Series 5)

The fifty-first volume of the Maryland Archives, the fifth of the Court Series, is one of the outstanding issues of this distinguished series. Aside from the inherent interest of the body of the text itself, the letter of transmittal which serves as a preface to the work, contains a comprehensive summary of the matter and is in effect an important historical paper in itself. This is followed by an "Introduction to the Legal Procedure" contributed by the Honorable Carroll T. Bond, Chief Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals; and this in turn is followed by a scholarly monograph "The First Century of the Court of Chancery" an illuminating discussion of the history and growth of the Chancery procedure of this State. In the preparation of the legal section of the index, the Editor has had the collaboration of Herbert T. Tiffany, Esq. the Reporter of the Court of Appeals, so that the volume is of the greatest interest and value to the legal profession, as well as to the lay reader. Volume fifty-one is an honor to the Society, to the editor, and to his distinguished collaborators.

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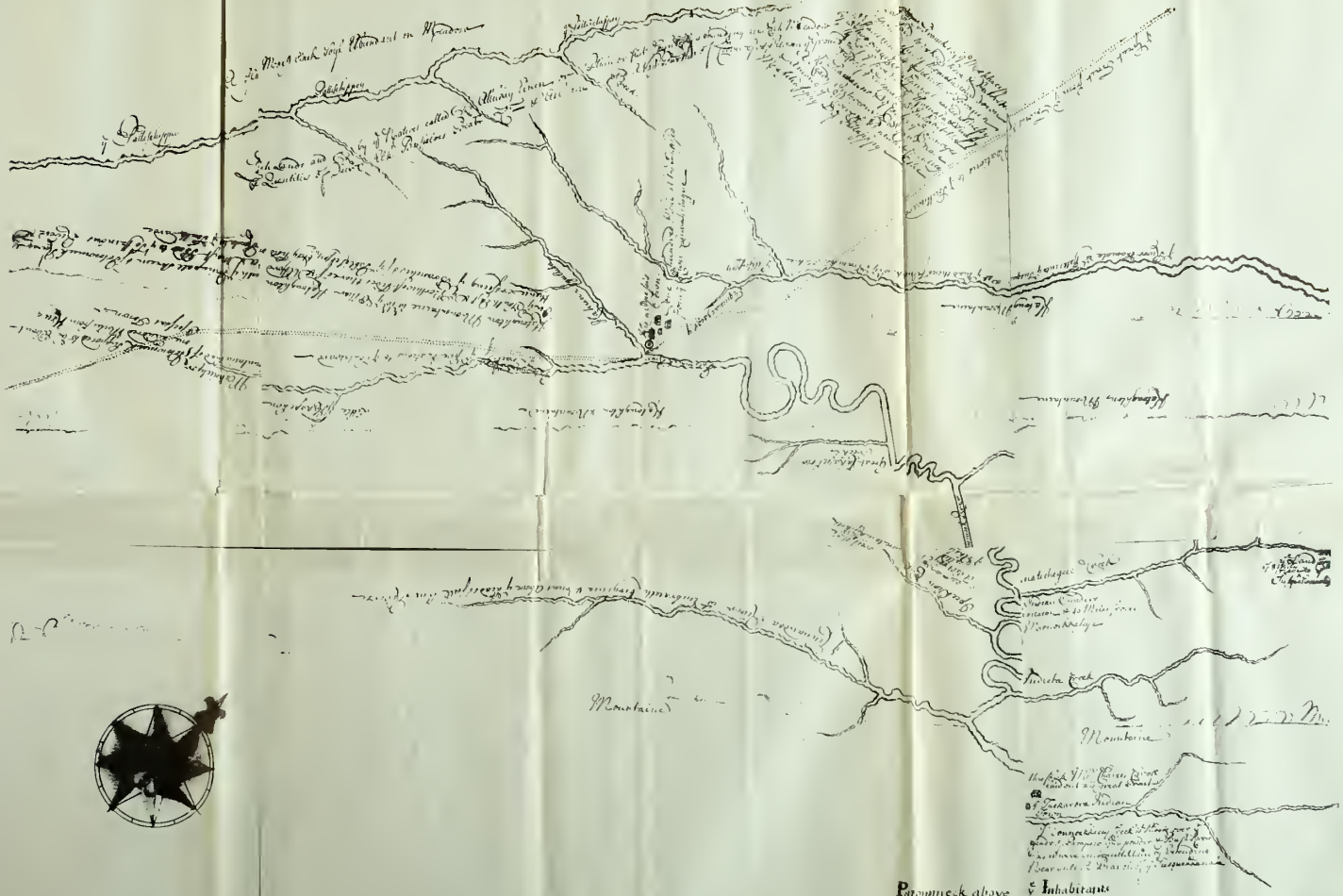
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Patomeck above ye Inhabitants

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXX. MARCH, 1935. No. 1.

"PATOWMECK ABOVE YE INHABITANTS."

A COMMENTARY ON THE SUBJECT OF AN OLD MAP.

By WILLIAM B. MARYE.

PART 1.

The Hon. Philemon Lloyd's Map of Western Maryland and Western Virginia — circa 1721.

The title of this series of articles is taken from that of a map in manuscript, which is the property of the Maryland Historical Society and belongs to that collection of original documents known as the "Calvert Papers" (Calvert Paper No. 1035). While it bears no signature, this ancient map, as we shall presently see, is susceptible of identification as the work of the Hon. Philemon Lloyd (1672-1732). Some thirty years ago Mr. Francis E. Sparks, who was then engaged in making abstracts of the Calvert Papers, identified the map in question as the handiwork of Lloyd and reached the conclusion that the map was made in 1721 or thereabouts (*Abstracts of the Calvert Papers*, Volume 18, page 1: Maps—Description of Calvert Paper No. 1035). Mr. Sparks found a "paper attached," which, later on in this article, will be alluded to as a sheet containing "memoranda." These "memoranda" he surmised to be part of a letter written by Lloyd to Charles, 3rd Lord Baltimore.

It was not until very recently that I became acquainted with the conclusions of Mr. Sparks relative to this map, and before

I was aware of what he had written on the subject, I had reached the same conclusions myself. It is my intention in this article to present the facts which impressed both Mr. Sparks and myself, working independently, and resulted in our forming identical opinions. In later articles I desire to take up and to pursue several subjects suggested by the various data which are entered on the map, having to do with the history of the central and western parts of Maryland prior to the arrival of the first white settlers.

The Hon. Philemon Lloyd, who, in the opinion of Mr. Sparks and of myself, was unquestionably the author of the map styled "Patowmeck above ye Inhabitants," was the son of Colonel Philemon Lloyd (1646-1685), who was the only son of Edward Lloyd, the founder of the well-known Lloyd family of Wye House in Talbot County, Maryland. From 1711 until 1732, the year of his death, he was a member of the Council. His public duties certainly required his spending much time at Annapolis. He married a woman of that place. For a while he maintained a residence there. (See Lloyd Genealogy, by Dr. Christopher Johnston, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. VII, pp. 425, 426.) The fact of his being frequently at Annapolis, when he was not actually residing there, is, as we shall later observe, a matter of especial interest in connection with the subject of this article. Numerous letters of Lloyd's, all of them written about 1721-1722, have survived. Particular reference to one of them will presently be made. The author of these letters was deeply interested in the economic possibilities of the wilderness lying to the west of the settled parts of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and particularly in the discovery and opening up of mines.

The map with which this present article is concerned, is drawn on two separate sheets of paper of equal size. In addition to the map proper these two sheets of paper contain copious notes. A third sheet of paper, which was formerly attached to one of the two sheets of the map by a ribbon which passed through slits which may still be seen, contains additional notes,

which I have already referred to as the "memoranda." Mr. Sparks found the "memoranda" so attached to the map, but they have since been separated from it. The whole manuscript is thus described in the catalogue of the Calvert Papers: "No. 1035—Ms. map of headwaters of the Potomac and adjacent country, showing Indian towns. Two copies (sic), one with memoranda" (*Fund Publication No. 28*, Calvert Papers No. 1, p. 111). The Calvert Papers came into the possession of the Maryland Historical Society in June, 1888, having been purchased in that year from Colonel Frederick Henry Harford, a descendant of the Calverts. (*Ibid.*, p. 28.)

I do not believe there can be any question of the fact that the "memoranda" "belong" to the map in the sense that they refer to it and serve to elucidate it. As the reader will observe, the map to which the "memoranda" have reference, was a "draft of ye Potowmack River." On it, by means of "double Prickt (dotted) Lines," was traced the "Warr Road or Great Tract" of the Five Nations leading "to ye southward." In the "memoranda" we find reference to the "Land Carriage of About Eight Miles only" connecting the head of "Cunnatachegue" (Conococheague) Creek with a branch of the Susquehanna River. This same portage path is shown on the map, whereon it is styled "ye land carriage of 8 miles to ye Susquehannah." Other points of correspondence between map and "memoranda" need not be emphasized. The map and the "memoranda" have undoubtedly been kept together since a very early period in their existence, and the only reason for the necessity of pointing out that they "belong" together is the fact, which will presently be brought out, that they were not written at the same time and were formerly separate. Indeed, there is reason to believe that when the "memoranda" were written by Lloyd in America, the map was already in England.

The second paragraph of the "memoranda" provides the information that the map which is therein referred to, had, at some time previous to the time of writing, been dispatched "p Cap^{t} Man," to an address which is not mentioned, but which

was, in all probability, that to which the "memoranda" themselves were destined. This "Captain Man" I have not indentified, but I have little doubt that he was the skipper of a sea-going ship.

A careful reading of the first and second paragraphs of these "memoranda" reveals the fact that they are incomplete, as they now stand. In the second paragraph we have a reference to "ye same Mapp," while in the first there is no mention at all of any map. My opinion in this matter concurs with that of Mr. Sparks, that we have here to deal with a page of a letter, at least two sheets of which are lacking. This letter, if letter it was, was written in the year 1721, as we shall presently see. Its recipient, if he was not Lord Baltimore, himself, was probably a firm or association of men styled by Lloyd "The Copartners," to whom he addressed a number of letters about this time, or during the next succeeding year.

The following is a full copy of the "memoranda":

The Sinequa Deputys from ye five Nations who some Time Ago Concluded on Sundry Articles of Peace with Maryland, a thing not known before, Except when Coll Henry Coursey & my ffather about 39 Years Ago went up to Albany and Concluded a Treaty with those Northern Indians in Relation to our Choptank Indians many of whom they had made Prisoners of Warr; and Carried them away. These Sinequa Deputys were just returned from Virg[a] where they had been upon ye same Affaire as in Maryland.

Two of them at ye Time of my dispatching away ye same Mapp p Capt Man; were then in my Chamber. I had ye Curiosity of Shewing them the draft wch I ffound at once Surprised and pleased them for as soon as they perceived it to be a draft of ye Potowmack River of themselves they Pointed to ye Severall Creeks, falling into it and told me the Names thereof, but something difference to those I had given me before I have therefore Collated them, with ye names from ye Indian Trader who directed me in makeing this Mapp as may be seen underneath.

Allthô I am Sensible there is no Certainty in ye Distances of Places upon this Draft yet I was pleased to ffind yt the thing in ye Main was laid down with so much Exactness as to ye Source of y^{t} Great River w^{ch} falls near in with ye fountain head of Palliseippy & of ye Choniata allso w^{ch} is a great Branch of ye Susquehannah but what was still more observable: ye fellows were pleased to see their Warr Road or Great Tract to ye Southward, laid down by ye double Prickt Lines w^{ch} of themselves they took Notice of & as well as they could make me to Understand that it was their Tract when they went to Warr with the Southward Indians & Wondered how I came to know anything of it.

Senequas		*Shawennows*
Cheneoow- quoquey	for	Monnockkesey
Cunnaquachegue	for	Cunnatachegue
Cayeunto	for	Ondieta
Chennandoowa	for	Cinnandoa
Cunnatiqua- Necota	for	Cunnatique-me — A large Branch of ye Susquehannah wch Trending South West makes a Land carriage of About eight Miles only; from ye Waters of Potowmeck & Susquehannah.
Kahungaluta	for	Hungaluta
Kahundoa	for	Maholicty
Cunnawaas	for	Potowmeck — ye Sinequas[1] may possibly Call Patowmeck in that Part of ye Countrey; Cunnawaas: from ye Cunnoyes; [2] A Numerous Poeople wch heretofore Inhabited ye Upper Parts of yt River in ye Same Manner they call ye Susquehanna, Connestoga-Runna; from ye Connestogua Indians yt Inhabite yt Place.

[1] Here, as elsewhere, Lloyd apparently follows the then time-honored custom of the people of Maryland of calling all Indians of the Five nations " Senecas."

[2] It is not perfectly clear that Lloyd was aware that the " Cunnoyes "

Let us now take up in turn the questions of the authorship and the date of the map styled "Patowmeck above ye Inhabitants":

The author of the page of "memoranda" informs us in his first paragraph that he was the son of a man who, some thirty-nine years before the date of writing, went up to Albany with Colonel Henry Coursey and there, on behalf of the Province of Maryland, concluded a treaty of Peace with the "Northern Indians" or Five Nations. The identification of the treaty to which these words have reference, presents no difficulty. It was in the month of May, 1682, that the Council appointed Colonel Henry Coursey and Colonel Philemon Lloyd to go to Albany for the purpose of making a treaty of peace with the Five Nations. (*Md. Archives*, Vol. VII, p. 409; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 96.) This treaty was duly concluded later in the same year by Coursey and Lloyd, acting on behalf of Maryland. (*Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, Vol. 3, pp. 221 *et seq.*). No other treaty between the Five

were the Pascattaways. His allusion to the fact that they formerly inhabited the "upper parts" of Potomac River probably has reference to their brief period of residence on Conoy Island (now called Heater's Island), which is situated in the river near Point of Rocks. They repaired to this island in 1699 from their place of refuge in the valley of Opequon Creek, whither they had absconded from their old haunts in the Province of Maryland. Here they were still established in 1711 or in 1712; but about this time or very soon afterwards they removed to Conejoholo on the Susquehanna River, by permission of the Iroquois. It was then, it is said, that they generally became known by their Iroquoian name of "Conoy." (*Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. 1, p. 339.) An early occurrence of this name, together with proof of its Iroquoian origin, or, at least, of its employment by the Iroquois to designate the Pascattaways, will be found in the Maryland Archives. On the 16th of April, 1685, a conference was held at the house of Colonel George Wells in Baltimore County (that is, at the place now called Old Woman's Point, formerly Goldsmith's Hall, in Harford County), between representatives of the Province of Maryland and delegates of the Seneca Indians. The Seneca deputies at this conference promised to maintain peace with the Pascattaway Indians, "whom they called Gonoois." The Maryland delegates, in meeting the proposals of the Senecas, took notice of their assertion that they were prepared to forgive the alleged injuries sustained by them at the hands of the "Conoois or Pascattawayes." (*Maryland Archives*, Vol. XVII, pp. 366, 367.)

Nations and the Providence of Maryland is known, in the negotiating and in the signing of which Henry Coursey and any other person jointly represented this Province. Henry Coursey, alone, went to Albany in 1677 and made peace between Maryland and these people (*Md. Archives*, Vol. XV, pp. 160-171). It is clear, therefore, that the author of the "memoranda," which, as we have seen, probably formed part of a letter, was a son of Colonel Philemon Lloyd, one of the two Marylanders who were parties to the signing of the Treaty of Albany of the year 1682. It follows, too, that the "Memoranda" themselves were written about the year 1721.

The question which is next in order is, with which one of the sons of Colonel Philemon Lloyd have we to deal? I have already stated definitely, that he was Philomen Lloyd, the younger. Proof of the fact is, in my opinion, to be found in the letters of that worthy. Some of these letters, forming part of the collection known as the "Calvert Papers," have been published in Volume 34 of the *Maryland Fund Publications*. Others, still in manuscript, will be found in Box 4 of the "Dulany Papers," which are the property of the Maryland Historical Society. These letters were written in 1721, or in 1722. Most of them are addressed to "The Copartners," who, apparently, constituted a British firm in which Lloyd may have had an interest, whose address was London. Not only do some of these letters show an intimate knowledge of facts which are set forth on the map in question, but the map itself is unquestionably alluded to in one of them.

In a letter dated October 8th, 1722, and addressed to "The Copartners," the Hon. Philemon Lloyd, delivers himself of a statement regarding the "Showans" or Shawnee Indians:

They (the Shawnee or Showans) are "a considerable nation of the Southward Indians; and have a Large Town at the Divideing of the Main Branches of Potommack, *as you will see upon my mapp.*" (*Maryland Fund Publications*, No. 34, p. 56.) Further on in the same letter (*Ibid.*, p. 58) the author has this to say regarding the prospects of the settlement of the country beyond the Monocacy:

"Without Encouragement People will not go so far back as between Monoceasie and Connatachequa, *as you see those Creeks Lay'd down upon my mapp of Potowmack*, where I am told is a Vast Quantity of fine Land; But this eastermost side of Monockasey is the ffirst place that will naturally be planted."

On the map which we have under consideration we find "King Opessas Town" at the junction of the Main and of the South Branch of Potomac River. This Indian town, as we shall see later, was the largest of three Shawnee towns which were then (1722) situated on Potomac River.

At this juncture it is necessary to deal with a matter which might otherwise appear to some readers in the light of a discrepancy. On that part of our map which represents the country lying adjacent to Potomac River, between the Monocacy and "Ondieta" (Antietam) Creek, we find these words: "In this fork Mr. Charles Caroll laid out his great Tract." This statement, one might naturally suppose, had reference to the manor of Carrollton, a tract of ten thousand acres, which, according to a rent-roll of Prince George's County, Maryland, was laid out for Charles, Daniel, Mary and Eleanor Carroll, on April 20th, 1723, (*Calvert Papers*, No. 882, p. 212), and which occupies the same general situation as the "great tract" indicated on the map. This would seem to raise an objection to my asseveration that the map which is mentioned in the "memoranda," is the same one with which these "memoranda" are filed; for as we have seen, these "memoranda" were written about the year 1721. This objection, however, is disposed of in a letter addressed by Philemon Lloyd, Jr., to "The Co-Partners," and dated July 28th, 1722. (*Maryland Fund Publications*, No. 34, p. 29.) In this letter Lloyd mentions the fact that Charles Carroll "purchased from the Indians a lycense to take up his Tract of Land in the ffork of Patowmeck and Monockesey." [3]

[3] Such an Indian licence will be found among the land records of Prince George's County, Maryland. It bears date January 10th, 1727. The parties of the first part describe themselves as "Kings and rulers of the Five Nations." The party of the second part was Israel Friend. The land which was thereby given by the Indians to Friend lay along Potomac

Hence, the " great tract " which is entered on the map, was not " Carrollton," but an earlier tract, which was replaced or superceded by " Carrollton." No certificate of survey of this tract is to be found at the Maryland Land Office. This " lycense " or deed is not on record at Upper Marlboro. It is not recorded among the proceedings of the Provincial Court and the patent of " Carrollton " contains no reference to it.

The last matter to be considered in this present article is the question of date. We have already touched upon this question. It has been shown, that the " memoranda " are of later date than the map, and that they were written about the year 1721. Their author Philemon Lloyd, Jr., tells us that the time of writing was " about 39 years " after the signing of a treaty which we have identified with a treaty signed at Albany in the year 1682. In these same " memoranda," however, Lloyd has furnished us with another clue as to their date. We must see whether that clue, if followed up, will yield results which are compatible with the conclusion at which we have already, tentatively, arrived. This clue is to be found in a reference to certain other Indian treaties, which remain to be identified. Lloyd tells us that just before he sent away his map in the care of " Captain Man," he showed it to " Sinequa Deputys " of the Five Nations, who " were just returned " from Virginia, where they had been on the business of making a treaty of peace. These " deputys," we learn, were the same men who " some time ago " participated in the making of a treaty of peace between the Five Nations, whom they represented, and the Province of Maryland. A more or less careful search of the Maryland Archives failed to discover the mention of the treaty to which Lloyd makes allusion; but Virginia archives yield the

River at the mouth of Antietam Creek. (Upper Marlboro, Maryland, Deeds, Liber Q, folio 169.) Israel Friend was an Indian trader (*Provincial Court Proceedings*, Liber W. G. No. 2, 1724-1726, pp. 282, 283). We note in passing that one of the seven Indian " kings " who were parties to this deed, was " Sivilite," or Civility, then the leading chieftan of the Conestoga or Susquehannocks, who had long since come under the rule of the Five Nations.

desired information. In August, 1721, " deputys " of the Five Nations were expected to arrive in Virginia, " in order to treat of a Peace." (*Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, Vol. 3, p. 549.) On October 19th, the deputies presented themselves at a meeting of the Council, which was being held on that date at Williamsburg. (*Ibid.*, p. 549.) They announced that, since their arrival in Virginia, two of their number had died. Five of them had been sent, " being the same who treated this Summer with the Governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania." The three survivors, referring to themselves, declared that " tho these Present belong only to three of the Town's of the said Indians (the Five Nations), yet they have authority from the whole." On October 21st the proposed treaty was signed. It was then entered by the Clerk of the Council " among other Indian treaties." Thereupon the Council, " upon consideration of what was offered by the said Indians in relation to the manner of their return home," ordered that " a Sloop be provided to carry 'em to Annapolis "; and so the responsibility for their welfare and safe return was passed on to Maryland. Various desirable presents were made to them, however, including " a Suit of Cloaths for each of the Widows of the Great men that accompanied them hither and are since dead." On November 3, 1721, the Council of Virginia considered accounts of charges for the accomodation of the deputies of the Five Nations and for the presents made to the aforesaid deputies, which accounts were duly " regulated & allowed." (*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 3.) There is no doubt that by that time the said deputies were out of the country. I believe that we may safely say that they arrived in Annapolis about the last week of October, 1721. It is unlikely that they tarried long there, as they had no business on hand. It may fairly be assumed, in my opinion, that it was during their presumably brief stay at Annapolis that Lloyd met them. He had, so he tells us, " ye Curiosity " of showing his map to two of them who " were then in my Chamber." He was, he says, on the point of dispatching this map to its intended destination. It

seems scarcely probable to me that the map in question had been completed long before it was sent away, and I therefore feel entirely justified in assigning it to the year 1721, as it is certainly not of later date.

(*To be Continued*)

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN DAVIS, 1770-1864.*

Hagerstown Maryland. 1849

Whereas; It has pleased my Heavenly Father, the Lord, Jesus, Christ, to lengthen and extend my Days, untill having arrived, at a greatly advanced age, and my present family which at this time, that are now living, consisting of Four Sons, Two Daughters, and Twenty Grand Children, — and likewise, being connected, to many Distant relatives, and also, an Extensive intercourse with great numbers of esteemed, and valuable members of Society, — Many of Whom, has frequently requested me, to furnish them, with a little Record, of the principle events, or Memorandum of my past Life.

More Especially, as they occured at a Period, of many important, and well remembered transactions, and of sundry changes that took place, I may say, in nearly all parts of this country and in all the world.

I had the good fortune, to be an Inhabitant of Philadelphia, When General Washington lived there, and when he Delivered, the ever to be remembered, Imortal, Farewell address, to the people of the United States. I never could pass by this distinguished, and venerated person (as I frequently did) without turning myself about, to view, and admire, the stately, Errect, and dignified aspect, and bearing, of this truly great Man; I can at this moment, bring to recollection, in my mind's Eye,

* From the original MSS. presented to the SOCIETY by John Gilman Paul, Esq., together with many plans and drawings by the author.

every feature of his face, and Figure, when at that time, I looked on and at him.

With these few introductory remarks, I will endeavour to comply, with the requisition, of those at whose Instance, Use, and amusement, if not instruction, they are by request presented unto and at the same time I would desire to be forgiven, for any Imperfections, or Inaccuricies, that may appear, in the perusal thereof.

Being now an old man, approaching unto, Eighty Years of age, — and the Father of a numerous offspring; who are descended, and claims their Birthright, as citizens of the United States, This short Biographical memorandom will call to mind, and present the recolection, of a few incidents, relating too, and concerning my Family, which may not, be an unacceptable item, to them, and to many other individuals, who at this present day are permitted to view the vast and increasing numbers, of this favoured and Important, and widely extended Country, and Nation, more Especially, as my Children, may hereafter be desirous to know something of their parentage, and from whom, and whence, they claim their Title, as Citizens, of these United States.

By the Record, as stated of my own Birth, was Born in England, and Baptized in the Episcopal Church, the 30th day of April 1770, at Avebury, near the Town of Marlborough, in the county Wiltshire, was the oldest son, of Thomas, and Ann Davis, of the above named place, They had ten Children, Five sons, and Five Daughters. The family soon after my birth, resided near the town of Devizes, in Wiltshire near on the great Road or Thoroughfare between London, Bath and Bristol. I was chiefly educated in the Grammar School in Devizes. I well remember, one of my Intimate School, and playmates, named Thomas Lawrence (afterwards) better known as the late Sir Thomas Lawrence, the Eminent Portrait Painter so distinguished in his profession, he was about my age.

I formed an Early attachment, to a Daughter of Mr. Thomas Maris, of Wootten Bassett, near the Town of Caln, in Wiltshire, and near, and in the viccinety of the Extensive Seat, and Domains, of the late Lord Shelbourn afterwards called Landsdown in that County. I was married to Jane Maris, in the Episcople Church in Wootten Bassett on the 4th of June 1791 and afterwards resided near to Devizes, untill I imigrated to the United States in 1793. Sailed in the Ship Euphrasia, Charles Davison, Master, from Bristol. It was a long passage of between 60 and 70 Days with an agreeable company, consisting of the following passengers. Viz. Thomas Easton Randolph, Esq., and Benjamin Randolph a younger Brother who had been some time in London, from Va. Two Brothers named Allenby one an East Indian Sea Captain; the other and older Single Brother. A family of Six, Mr. and Mrs. Timbrell, two sons, and two Daughters, youngest half grown, the oldest, an intelligent young Lady; a single gentlemen, Mr. Christopher Minifie, an architect and builder, — with myself and wife, and our little Daughter, under 2 years old, — This small Community, enjoyed much social intercourse, during the voyage, Sundays was usually allotted, for reading the Episcople Church service. The oldest Mr. Randolph generally officiated.

During these proceedings, It was discovered that our little Daughter had not been Baptized and all appeared very desirious to have this ceremony performed at Sea on the next Sabath Day and thus solicited we agreed thereto and the following appointment was made "As Chaplain Thomas Easton Randolph, Clerk Benj. Randolph — God Fathers, Christopher Minifie and Capt. Charles Davidson, God Mother, Miss Hetty Timbrell and myself and Jane Davis (the Mother) and the child was named Eliza Davis.

These proceedings was performed with much solemnity and attended with pious, calm and kind feelings as the occasion could command and all appeared to be gratified thereby.

The Messrs. Randolph, more Especially the oldest, was anxious for me to accompany them, to Richmond, at or near

their residence or home. I believe that he was some time afterwards the Governor of Virginia.*

The place of my contemplated sojourning unto, was Philadelphia, But, the Yellow Fever, so well remembered, had not entirely abated, and I remained in Baltimore, untill I pursued my original intention, of Residing in Philadelphia.

In the Spring of 1794, the Small Pox was very prevelent, in Baltimore, and by the advice of an intimate acquaintance, a Doct. Richardson, our little intelligent and interesting Daughter, Eliza, was inoculated for the Small Pox, it was of a very virulent character, and she died thereof. Soon after this, we removed and resided in Philadelphia.

The next important occurrence, that took place, was the Birth of our Daughter, Mary Ann on the 29th March, 1795. She was Baptized in St. Peters Church, Philadelphia. We was at this time beginning to feel, in agreeable, and pleaseing circumstances, when it was discovered that my Dear Wife's health began to fail. She never suffered by much pain, and always sustained a fine bouyancy of cheerfulness and good Spirits But by an Increasing weakness and diarea which baffled the skill of the Physician, which removed her, almost, without pain, or suffering, and much resembling a calm and Quiet Sleep. How exceedingly uncertain is all things appertaining to this life.

Being now left, with my little Daughter, I had partly made an Engagement, and was about preparing to remove to Washington City, having been solicited to do so by the late Mr. Lenthall,† architect, who was at that time, engaged by Genl. Washington, in making some improvements for him, in that City. It was at this period that the project of the contemplated works for supplying the City of Phil. with water, was agitated, and about to be carried into effect, and Benj. Henry Latrobe Esq. had been Consulted, and had prepared his plans and

* Probably Thomas Mann Randolph 1768-1828, who was Governor of Virginia, 1819-1822.

† John Linthall, Latrobe's superintendent in the building of the Capitol, who was killed September 19, 1808 by the fall of a vaulting in the North wing.

Estimates, which were adopted by the Incorporated authorities, of the City of Philadelphia, at this Interval, Saml. Mickel Fox, Esq. who at that time, was the President of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and was mostly instrumental in employing, and Engaging Mr. Latrobe in the building the New Bank of Penn. and was their Architect, and Mr. Fox, being also one of the watering Committee, he advised Mr. Latrobe to have an interview with me, Mr. Fox, observing that from his previous knowledge and intercourse with me he felt convinced that my services would be useful, in the Contemplated water works. The interview accordingly took place between me and Mr. Latrobe, and on finding, that I had been practically engaged in engineering, and architectural pursuits and employed by those Eminent and distinguished Gentlemen, Messrs. James and Sam. Wyatt of London, I at once entered into an Engagement, with Mr. Latrobe, and the City, Corporate authorities, to Superintend and aid therein, as Clerk of the works. In the situation aboved named, I continued connected with Mr. Latrobe about three years, untill sundry other engagements, required both the service and talents of Mr. Latrobe in other portions of the United States, more Especially at the Cross Cut Canal between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, and the water works in New Orleans. After this period, the entire direction and management and the Execution of the works, for watering the City, of Philadelphia, Devolved on me. In that capacity I continued untill the Spring of 1805.

In the autumn of 1804, I received an Invitation to proceed to the City of Baltimore, to give some advice and aid in an Examination that had been made in relation to the contemplated means as to the supplying that city with water. A company had been organized and a capital of 250,000 Dollars provided, A President and Managers, Chosen, water rights and water Power had been purchased, and various suggestions given as to the manner and plans to accomplish the object, and to appoint an Engineer, and Manager, to Execute the requisite works.

By the advice of some friends, and strong solicitations, I had received, — I repaired to Baltimore, to impart such views, and advise such measures, as appeared to me proper, for the furtherance, of the object this company had in view.

I spent two or three days on these Examinations and attended a meeting of their Board, who were at once quite unanimous in approving of the outlines of what I had suggested, and then they made the proposition that they wished me to engage and undertake and attend to the entire Management and to Execute the plans and works that was in contemplation they also proposed a Salary or Compensation that I considered liberal and satisfactory. To these measures and offers I could not consent as I considered that my engagements in Philadelphia, although not bound or limited by any particular contract Yet it appeared to me that my services in Phi[a] was then indispensable, as the water works in that city was the first of the kind on a large and eficient scale for supplying a large City with water. Consequently all its detail and opperations was as it were New in nearly all of its Mechanical requirements as persued in these works. The workmen generally had acquired experience only by having been engaged in the various departments, of these works. Under these circumstances and considerations I could not comply and entertain a New engagement, But these Baltimore Gentlemen made strong appeals and almost insisting that I should be Imployed by them they likewise desired me to endeavour to propose or point out some way or means to relieve them of their difficulty and it was agreed to adjourn the meeting untill the following evening and then to receive my views and see if I could suggest some manner or means to meet the Case.

At the Meeting of the Board on the next evening, — I submitted this proposition That I would still attend to the business and continue to direct the Superintendence of the Philadelphia works, endeavour to select and appoint a competent person to take my situation and place and Impart to such person, every necessary Instruction, and information that would enable and

render him capable to perform and attend to the duties that would be required in the water works at Phi[a] untill the managers of that concern were fully satisfied that my Successor was Qualified and efficient to the performance of the required duty and as soon as such assurance was by the watering Committee of Phi[a] agreed to Then I was willing to accept of the proposition of the Gentlemen in Baltimore. These conditions was accordingly agreed to — and strongly urging me to make all my arrangements as soon as the nature of the business would permit.

Now referring back to the circumstance relating to the water works in Phi[a] Having been employed and engaged in the water works in Philadelphia from the Commencement thereof and enjoying the friendship and confidence of all the Members of the watering Committee and the City Councils who were always disposed to embrace, and pursue, and adopt, all such measures as appeared to be proper and necessary in extending the works and System as laid down by the watering Committee and the City Corporation of Philadelphia I found some difficulty in reconcileing my old and valued friends, to submit and agree to my leaving, and giving up my superintendence of the water works. To adjust and reconcile all parties, I proposed that I would endeavour to procure, provide and Instruct a suitable and competent person to take the charge and management and Superintendence of the Water Works, and to instruct him in all the Details thereof, furnish him with all the Drawings, plans and every Information that might be required untill he was fully initiated and Instructed to the entire satisfaction of the watering Committee and in pursuance of these arrangements Late in the fall of the year 1804, I had an Interview with Mr. Frederick Graff, a gentleman with whom I was intimately acquainted. He had been lately engaged as Engineer in the construction of the Santee Canal in Carolina and was at this time with his friends and relations in Phi[a]. I explained and made known my object which was that I wished him to succeed me as the Superintendent of the works for watering the City of Philadelphia. To this Mr. Graff seemed to have some Doubts

as to his being capable of attending to this business. The works at this period, being entirely of a New Character and the first of so great magnitude that had been introduced into the United States and that both the opperatives and the Mechanicks were the only persons that had acquired any practical experience in this business, during the Construction of the present works then in opperation. But I assured him, and also remarked That I made provision That I would accompany him, and aid and assist him in all the various Departments of the business and the works, untill the time arrived, that he should feel qualified and competent to take charge of the whole concern and also that the committee would retain me in their employ and services untill they were fully satisfied with Mr. Graff's competency as to supplying my place. With this explanation and understanding Mr. Graff agreed to enter on a trial and on the latter part of the fall, or near the end of the winter of 1804 I introduced and recommended Mr. Graff to the president and managers of the Philadelphia water works as my successor on the conditions as heretofore stated and in accordance thereto we both diligently and assidously devoted all our time and every oppertunity to place Mr. Graff in his new situation, and an apt and intelligent assistant he proved to be as the result testified for after a few months close attention and dilligent application I received the cordial thanks and a kindly parting dismissal from the managers of the water company, and Mr. Graff commenced his services on May 1st 1805 and he continued in the same situation of Superintendent of the Phi[a] water workes untill his Death in 1848, a period of 43 years, having acquired the pleasing Reputation of an unsullied name and one of the most scientifick, correct, and practicable Engineers in his line in the United States. He rendered considerable aid and advice in the Croton water works at New York and had the Direction and entire management in all its parts of the Fair Mount water works in Philadelphia. These works are well known and celebrated throughout the whole Country and a statute is now placed to his memory near the building containing the pumping

machinery or Reservoir of these works and as this scite or Location is a long remembered spot and was very familier to my memory in by gone Days. I feel some desire to call to my recollection and refer to some of the past incidents that still remains on my mind and memory that perhaps no other living person is familiar or acquainted with. I am aware that these incidents are of no use or value to any one, having occured many years since and my pursuits was then and always have been as it were of a quiet and unobstrusive character and these notices and Memorandoms are now more occasioned by my occuping a little vacant leisure that have been granted unto me in these late declining days of my Life, and perhaps they may afford a little amusement to some one of my numerous family, who may be inclined to know something of the History, occupation and the Employment both of the Body and the Mind and also the standing and the Connection that subsisted between me and many valued, Eminent and esteemed friends in Public life, as also Individuals and relatives in my own family and distant connections among by old Frankford and Phi[a] acquaintances were many that was very fond of relating annecdotes and of recuring to the sayings and events that was well remembered by those, who moved in life, and was known as early Members of Society and conspicuous individuals, and even in my Day, could remember many of those recorded events and Items as were published in Watson's Annals of Philadelphia. My respected Brotherinlaw, Isaac Whitelock, late of Frankford was on friendly Intimacy with Watson, and often entertained and amused me with relating many incidents and occurrences of almost forgotten remarkable events that were familiar at that period to many old and aged persons. And not a great while since some of my friends who are a little curious and very fond of noting and refering to old times and former doings requested me to prepare some notes or memorandoms of those transactions that I had been engaged in during the early portion of my life and more particularly when I resided in Philadelphia and other parts of the United States, and thereby bring to remembrance

some of the past subjects, and in What manner and how my time and attention was occupied and engaged in those days that are now passed away and gone.

From these motives and for the amusement and gratification of these friends I will endeavour to give an uninteresting detail of some of those things as they then occured, But I think is scarcely worth the trouble of either recording or of Reading:

First then as relating to the works for watering the City of Philadelphia, I feel Inclined to enter a little minutely into a description of the first or originall plan and Execution of these as will be remembered by Many persons now living.

The works errected by Mr. Latrobe were these (first) a Basin or Excavation taken from the Schuylkill River. In the front part thereof a massive waterproof wall wherein floodgates was errected. It received the water within this first reservoir or Basin, from thence into a Tunnel, that were Excavated from the solid Rock untill it entered a large well upwards of 40 feet Deep, wherein a large Cast Iron pump was fixed to elevate the water by the means of a powerful steam Engine from thence to the Tunnel in Chesnut Street into and along the same which was constructed of Brick about ¾ of a mile long and six feet diameter untill it arrived to the Middle of Centre Square situate at the Intersection of Centre and Broad Streets, Phi[a]. where the second steam Engine was errected, a beautiful marble Building 60 feet square with a circular Routonda about the same height, wherein was placed the upper Reservoir, for the water to supply the pipes for the distribution thereof through which water was conveyed all of which is still remembered.

My object in referring to these matters is to notice some facts, that but few individuals at this time ever understood, after these two steam engines were a few years in opperation for supplying the city, It was found to be attended with heavy expense for Fuel and other Expenditures But the worse feature was the frequent stopages in the regular supply when any slight repairs required the least attention thereto from either of the steam Engines And as these Inconveniences was Daily

Increasing I was led to reflect thereon and calmly to consider that finally a more permanent and Economical plan must be pursued and adopted.

Under these Impressions I endeavoured to obtain all the Information I possibly could as to the localities of the sorounding country as to streams of water and a site for Reservoirs &c. &c.

At this period the Building of what then was called the permanent Bridge over the Schuylkill river was commenced, and stone for the foundation and abuttments was required to be taken from Rocks called Morris's Hill, belonging to the late Robt. Morris, At this time owned by the Bank of North America in Phi[a]. and a Mr. Henry Drinker (who was a Member of the watering committee) was the Cashier of said Bank and he appointed me a agent to look after and take charge of the Bank property on Morris Hill and to make contracts with the Bridge Company for such stone as was required by them. In order to the fulfiling these contracts for stone, I found it necessary to take a profile of the face of the Rock's as it was at that time presented, Both as to the Length, Breath's and its altitude so that after the excavation of the Rock was made the Quantity of stone that was removed could be asscertained by a similar process. The Bridge Company having agreed to pay at the rate of 25 cubic feet as being equivalent to one perch of stone for all that was quarried from the Hill, While attending assertaining these measurements from time to time I frequently took some refreshments with me to dispose of them in the old Fort or Embankment on Morris's Hill, which still remains undisturbed since the Revolutionary war. From the top of this Hill, on this fine elevation the sorounding country presented an extensive view of Centre Square distance about 2 miles especially the Highest ground around the City, at this time having my Surveying and leveling Instruments with me on the spot, The idea of a Reservoir came across my mind, and I concluded at once to commence a course of leveling from the surface of the water in the Schuylkill River up to the Top of the Hill in the old Fort

and I found the ground sufficiently elevated and a most Excellent scite and Location for a Reservoir that would command all parts in the vicinity. This appeared to me a pleasing Discovery and after reflecting and pondering thereon I came to the conclusion in my own mind That if ever any alteration of the water works should take place This point would be found to be a suitable Location. After these Examinations, I frequently advanced and expressed my views and oppinion to the watering committee and more especially to Mr. Drinker whose good judgment I always respected and these suggestions was made a long time before I had the least expectation that I should retire from my superintendency of the Phil[a]. water works.

The aforesaid subject appeared to remain quite at rest, untill the period arrived that caused me to be separated from my esteemed Friends in Phi[a]. and also when my successor Graff was permanently and efectually Located and engaged in conducting the opperation of the water works in Philadelphia, There was an understanding between myself, Mr. Graff and the watering Committee, That if at any time my assistance and services should be required I would attend thereto by receiving such notices. It began to be proved as I had anticipated, The time had now arrived that an Examination would have to be made to place the water works in a more Eligable and permanent situation. In order thereto, The City Councils of Phi[a]. made an appropriation for that purpose and directed the watering committee to engage suitable persons, to make Surveys and assertain the probable cost that would be required to place the water works in a more Eligable and permanent situation. In accordance thereto It was about two years after I had removed from Baltimore That I received an invitation to accept an appointment in connection with Mr. Graff to make an Examination into the state of the water works in the City of Phi[a].

This business was with much care & labour performed. It occupied about two weeks and was accompanied by Estimates and a full Report, to the Councils and Reccomending the alteration of the scite, and the works for watering the City unto the

present points now so celebrated and well known by the name of Fair Mount water works which name it has acquired since the period to which these observations and remarks are refered to. This Report was presented and signed by John Davis and Frederick Graff and the old Fortification that I so well remember Is now occupied and constitutes the Large and Extensive Reservoirs that contains several acres in Capacity, commanding a fine Elevation, and the adjoining grounds improved by the beautifull Buildings, Pumping Machinery, Walks, pleasure grounds and Improvements that makes Fair Mount, the Boast and pride of Philadelphians.

It is thus that I look back and bring to my mind and memory all these things and also contemplate on the great and vast changes that I have been permitted to see, and also, in many instances, to bear a very conspicuous part in and like wise to notice, the amazeing, rapid and growing Improvements of this Immense Country. At the period that the water works was commenced, in Philadelphia, it contained, not over 60,000 Inhabitants, and when I removed from thence to Balto. in 1805, there was, but little over 30,000 in Baltimore. Then it was that I found that shortly after this period, the spirit of enterprize and Improvement was rapidly Increasing and extending itself in almost every direction and as the works for the supply of Baltimore, with water was in successful opperation, my services was also frequently in demand in the Engineering department, and other Publick improvements and a continual calling for my labours and attention to various objects that was required of me in sundry places whereunto I was so called was almost to oppresive and laborious perhaps in consequence of there being but few individuals at this time who had been engaged in; and had practical experience and knowledge in Hydrolick and Civil Engineering, was the cause of this pressure on Me, in order to obtain some relief I entered into a new arrangement with the Baltimore water company. Their works being then in successful opperation and not requiring all my time and attention, I was appointed President, of the Company, at a reduced compensa-

tion and devoting only such portion of my time as their services demanded. In this capacity, I resided and continued during the whole period that I lived in Baltimore and untill I removed to the Country in Washington County, Md.

I will now proceed to give a little diversified statement of some of the objects, engagements and employments in which I may say I was almost incessantly occupied; Say at the Susquehanna Canal, from Tide water unto peach Bottom; a distance of about 10 miles, pulling down and rebuilding the Locks, Both widening and Deepening the Canal and other improvements there occupying a period of about 2 years; Surveyed and Leveled and attended the Improvements of Gwynns Falls by a mill Race of about 3 miles, in length terminated, by the building in succession, 4 large Merchant Mills, each carrying 4 Pair of Millstones; aided, and assisted in the erecting, Large Cotton manufactory; and a large Merchant Mill on Jones Falls, 6 miles north of Baltimore, Superintended the erection, and other Improvements, a little South of Havre de Grasse, Leveled the water & aided in building a Large Mill on Elkridge about 15 Miles west of Balt., Leveled and surveyed several streams and Located many Cotton Manufactories and other improvements that was either designed or Executed by my Direction. There is one Improvement kept in fine order and is still a favourite spot and frequented by many persons, called the City Spring, situate on North Calvert Street city of Baltimore about 2 squares south [North] of the Battle Monument near Barnums Hotel.

But there was a work that I was engaged in, and Executed, under some serious anxieties and difficulties that I must own I feel some little pride and ambition in mentioning and therefore have given it a little more in detail than perhaps it may be thought to deserve yet still I think it is entitled to a little notice. It was like a Pilot or Pioneer calculated so as to point out the way that but few had travelled or pursued before.

Some time after the commencement of the last war in 1812, It was thought proper to place Fort McHenry in a good state

of Defence. It was known that the water for the use of the Garrison was bad and unwholesome. The attending Physician condemned it as unfit for the men. There had been several trials and attempts made there to obtain good water by the Engineers and others by sinking wells at the Enclosure within the Fort. But when the Excavations was continued to the depth between 40 to 50 feet or to about the Level of Soundings in the River opposite the Fort, the Strata, where the water proceeded from, was a soft, Black, slippery offensive soil, and mud, Extending to about 6 feet Deep and where the water flowed in abundently and it appeared to defy any attempt of its being sunk deeper and all the water for the Fort had to be carted or conveyed about the distance of 3 miles from the watering place for the shipping at the Basin. It seemed so indispensably necessary that good water should be obtained, That Major Paul Bentalow called on me to consult with me on the subject, he being well acquainted with me and on terms of considerable Intimacy and he strongly insisted on it that I should undertake to procure a good Supply of water for the Fort. After examining the difficulties and the failure of the attempts that had been heretofore made I remarked to him that it could be accomplished but most probably at a heavy Expense. With these views, Major Bentalow, who was a Government officer, proceeded to Washington to see Genl. Armstrong, the Secretary of War, who directed Major Bentalow to engage me, and requested me to furnish an Estimate of the probable expense thereof. On the Majors return to Balt. he desired me to state my views which was that I was willing to undertake the work, under the conviction, that water could be obtained but under no consideration would submit an Estimate, It might cost some 4 or 5,000 Dollars and it might amount to three or four times that sum. I was willing to use my best Exertions and judgement, make, and prepare contracts, and procure workmen and attend to the general superintendence and receive for my own compensation at the rate of ten per cent on the whole expenditure, be it more or less, this being the amount that I was paid for all the works

I was engaged in. With this understanding the Major repaired again to Washington and he received an order from the Secretary of war to engage me at once!

I then consulted with Col. Armistead, the Commander of the Fort, and Major Bentelow to fix on the spot for the Excavations; in the preparations were Two strong main sills, each 40 feet long by about 24 by 20 inches square, was so placed in order to sustain any super-incumbent weight that might be required, and a regular mineing shaft of 12 feet in Diameter was dug and excavated and such carpentry and fixtures as was likely to be wanted was prepared. The Excavation and the Carpentry was regularly sunk unto near the Depth of 40 feet, untill it arrived, to the soft Strata, of mud, and water, where the former Difficulties heretofore had been experienced; then was commenced a system of sheet piling, prepared sufficiently long, to pass through the soft strata into a more firm soil that was found to extend downward from 8 to 10 feet; this sheet piling was shod with Iron, formed of staves from 8 to 10 Inches broad by 4 Inches thick, correctly worked and grooved and tongued so that when Driven they formed a compleat hoop something like the interior of a large Cask. This was a very difficult work to execute but it was done in the most perfect Manner and when the mud and water and the soft soil was taken out very few leaks from the interior of what may be termed, this large (Cask or vessel) was presented, and it took the workmen but a short period, with their Oakum to cork the leaks; to make it literally water tight, all the materials & carpentry had been suspended by the carpentry untill this vessel, I may call it a Tub, or Cask, stood on, or in the firm solid ground, or clay, found at this Depth now about 60 feet, from the top. The solidity of this ground or strata of clay as it was found to be, suggested a different course of continuing the Excavation, it may not be improper to describe the intended dimensions, designed to finish this well say 6 feet diameter in the clear; Bricks to form this Circle 11 inches long 1″ 10; The body of prepared Clay or Puddle to sorround the well, the whole hight, to

Exclude all Impurities, admiting water only from the Springs, from the Bottom, thickness of Clay around each, 2 ″ 1. This thickness Double 2 ″ 1. The Diameter Excavated being 12 feet. The ground or Clay proving very solid and compact, it was deemed unnecessary to continue the Excavation larger than the space required for the Brick work making the whole 7 ″ 10 Diameter. The Strata of very hard blue Clay now penetrated permitted it to be dug and shaped to form a perfect Cylinder to fit it up unto the Bricks which assumed the form of a wedge making a true Circle of Six feet Diameter. In order to assertain if any change in the soil took place, a large auger was prepared to pierce the clay to the depth of 6 or 7 feet deep, to provide against any obstacle that might present itself. After each Boring, the Excavation was continued until another boring was required, and thus alternately untill it passed down to a Depth of about 40 feet without the least change, the whole being of the most perfect, solid, blue Clay imaginable. During the process of the last boring the auger suddenly droped down a few inches, it had penetrated to the depth of about 5 feet and water suddenly rushed up by the side of the auger which was quickly stoped by driving a plug into the hole. I happened to be there at this fortunate moment, went down into the well and found the water to exert itself by a considerable force and imediately had a hole prepared, through an upright piece of timber and a Spigot placed therein, to tap the well and draw off some water, to have its Quality tested. After these preparations was made, the water was drawn, and discharged with great force and for some time assumed nearly to the colour of milk but soon grew clearer. A person was immediately dispatched to Major Bentelow who soon returned exceedingly elated and some of the water was sent to the celebrated Chemist Doct. De Butts, in Balto. to have it annalized, and after he had carefully made the Examinations, he gave a Certificate that the water was of the purest character, not inferior to any in the Country. During these proceedings all things was in progress to discharge the water by pumps, Buckets, &c. &c. to have all the materials ready, Puddle,

Clay and Bricks, and everything to facilitate a proper finish to this important work. After the last of the Clay, in the Bottom of the well was taken out, the water came in from the bottom through a stratum of remarkably fine, white sand and gravel about 2 feet Deep. The ground below this appeared solid, and firm of a Dark Red character. The water flowed regularly through this bed of sand, the whole time the work of the well was on hand, at the rate of about 18 Gallons per minute by actual measurement and the water so discharged was continually taken regularly out but both Night and Day until it ceased to come in which was found to be at a point in the well which stood about 4 Inches higher, or above, the usual high water mark, in the River at the Fort, opposite the well. The Brick work was now carefully carried up, and leveled off at the termination of the Clay Stratum. At this offset the puddle clay commenced and was carefully placed arround the Bricks on the outside all the timber work, sheet piling and every substance whatever was taken up and removed and replaced by the prepared Clay and Puddlings so that not the least quantity of water or any impure substance could enter the well from the outerside. And viewing and looking down this well, a more perfect Cylinder or Tube could not be easily conceived or any work more perfectly accomplished and what makes this subject more Interesting is that Early in the summer of 1814, this work was finally finished whereby at the Bombardment at Fort McHenry all the Troops at the Fort and those in the vicinity of the Encampment was fortunately supplied by the water of this well and Col. Armistead justly remarked that it was a most invaluable appendage to the Fort. I believe the whole cost and Expenditure was under $6,000.

I must say that the success of this undertaking gave me some gratification, especially as it was stated by some Engineer's impossible to be done But Major Bentelow still insisted on it that "John Davis" should pursue his own views, and the Exulting Major said to the Secretary of War "Did not I tell you, Genl. Armstrong that Mr. Davis would succeed and we would have good water at the Fort, uttered in his broken french language.

I do not know that I have occasion to refer to several other incidents that fell under my observation at various times, but there is one other notice that may not be improper to state. It occured at the time I was engaged in improving and widening the Locks, &c. on the Susquehanna Canal.

There was a deputation of the members of the Lake Erie and Hudson Canal, who then was visiting the works that were in progress on the Susquehanna Canal. After being Introduced to me They desired to have an Interview with me, and proposed an offer and made a request that I should be engaged in their services and Employment and render my assistance in aiding in the Execution of the contemplated Canal. In answer to this proposition I had to state the utter impossibility of my being able to Devote any of my time to other objects, I was then employed on viz:—which was in the Construction of the water works in Balt. including all its Details and it was by the courtesy of the water Co. that I was enabled to render a portion of my time in attending the work on the Susq. Canal, where the gentlemen at that moment then found me. I had therefore to tender them a respectful apology and to decline their kind offer. I would further remark that a long time after this I received the following Letter on the same subject, a copy thereof I herewith insert—to this request also I was unable to comply, although many of my friends strongly advised me to do so. It always appeared to me that by faithfully fulfiling all those duties and engagements that are honourable and consistant and governed by a course of pure morality regardless of all pecuniary Interest whatever is the sure way to satisfy and promote peace and friendship and prevent unpleasant Envious feelings.

Copy—" This Letter was thus addressed " " To John Davis, No. 74 Charles St., Baltimore, Maryland."

" New York, 3rd, Mo. 4th, 1814 "

" Respected Friend

The commissioners appointed by our Legislature for the consideration of all matters relating to the internal navigation of

the state are desirious of employing an Engineer to determine the line of the proposed Canal, from Lake Erie. When I had the pleasure of seeing thee in Baltimore about 2 years ago, thee stated having made some engagements in the line of thy Profession in your state, it would not be in thy Power to undertake performing the work proposed by us. I have full confidence in thy abilities being equal to the task and if it is now in thy power to accept this Employment, I trust thou wilt find thyself perfectly able to accomplish it to thy own and our satisfaction. I have spoken to Poppleton who is willing to act under thy Direction as Surveyor, to take levels and make out a map accompanied by notes &c. of the whole Route, he will be aided by Benjamin Wright, who has been employed as a Surveyor and taking Levels for two years past by order of the Commissioners, he is well acquainted with the Country, and a very ingenious man, we mean him as an assistant to Poppleton. He is very capable of aiding him in every branch of his profession and particularly in makeing Estimates &c. I expect thy Duty will be to take a Bird's Eye view of the Country generally and to direct the Surveyor where to Run his line &c. If thou wilt agree to undertake the business there will be no difficulty as to the Compensation to be allowed. I should suppose it would require this season and the next to compleat the work, and as it is possible the whole of thy time would not be necessary, it may be convenient for thee to devote only a portion of it. However of this I confess myself not competent to form a correct judgment, I should be glad to hear from thee as soon as convenient.

I am very respectfully
Thy assured friend,

Thomas Eddy"

Recuring to the contents of this letter it reminds me of the laborious and incessant duties that devolved on me during a great portion of my life. But the consolation of Receiving the Thank's and approbation I may say of all who employed me, in the varied occupations that I was engaged in and also in the

accountability of the Disbursements of a vast amount of money that was expended under my direction both in Pennsylvania and Maryland there was never any disaproval or the least dissatisfaction in a single Instance during the whole period that I was thus occupied and even up to this day. Is not this a reflection worthy the consideration of my numerous family and also of all my former Friends and those esteemed Individuals with whom I had for so many years transacted business of varied denominations and extensive concerns. To me it is truly a pleasing reflection now recalling these times, and in continuance thereof I have to notice that my Baltimore engagements continued as heretofore, it was in attending the water company's work and such other incidental pursuits as at times was presented to my consideration and one of my latest engagements was the surveying and locating a Rout for the Extension and continuance of the Cumberland Turnpike Road, from the western bank of the Conacacheague Creek in Washington County, Md. unto the Town of Cumberland Allegany Maryland, a distance of forty miles, nearly the whole being through almost an untraveled dense wilderness. The origen of this improvement was the necessity of uniting & connecting the great National Road that began at Cumberland and extended westwardly unto Wheeling in Virginia on the Eastern Bank of the Ohio River. To accomplish this object the Legislature of Maryland submitted a proposition to sundry Banking Institutions, whose charters was about to expire that their Charters should be continued for a period of 20 years and a Charter granted constituting them the privilege of a Turnpike Road Company provided they would pay for the cost and expense of making said Road.

In consideration of the above three commissions was appointed to lay out, locate and prepare an estimate of the probable cost of said Road. This was performed by the following persons viz.—Messrs. John Ellicot, William Jessop, and John Davis. The Board of the Bank Director's adopted Report and the Road was advertized to be made by contract and by the advice of many Friends, I presented a proposal embracing every

Expense and its contingencies in detail, and the Banks accepted the proposition agreeing to pay the sum of Four Hundred and sixty Thousand Dollars when compleated. This contract or work was commenced in the fall 1816, and early in the spring of 1821, the contract and road was taken of my hands by my employers and those members from the various Banks who constituted and named the Cumberland Turnpike Road Company, elected me their Superintendent, general Manager. In whose services and employment I continued untill the year 1839 as the date of letter will testify—viz:—

(copy) "Cumberland Turnpike Road
Company's office May 21st, 1839.

"Extract from the minutes and proceedings of a special meeting of the President and Managers of the Cumberland Turnpike Road Company.

A letter from John Davis Esq. dated the 15th of April 1839 resigning his situation of Superintendent of said road was received and accepted.

Whereupon it was resolved that John Davis Esq. be and he is hereby granted the privilege of Travelling this Road free of Tolls, as an acknowledgement of his long and Faithfull services as Superintendent

True extract from the minutes

J Pinkney Sec'y."

These memorandoms now brings me nearly to the conclusion of the Business transactions of the past pursuits of my life. The remaining portion now left has been generally occupied in attending pretty much to the Domestick concerns of my Family and that portion of our children in Hagerstown where we have resided for a considerable time.

Our oldest son is located and living on a Farm east of Cumberland in Allegany county. My other three sons, reside in Baltimore, two in the Merchantile line, the other is in the medical profession in Balt.

In concluding these narratives and memorandoms, I must go a little back to retrace some family notices and occurences relating to my late Beloved companion who was a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (as I am informed) The family for many years past belonged to the Quakers or Friends Society. Her name was Mary Whitelock. The Family removed to Frankford five miles north of Philadelphia. . . . Her mother was named Elizabeth, her husband died, leaving her with two sons and three daughters all quite young. After some years, and the children being nearly all grown, the mother again married to a respectable Quaker Friend named Benjamin Love who resided in Frankford.

It was at the commencement of the Phi[a]. water works that I found that there was many of the Friends society managers of the water company and of course I was in contact and also in friendly association with many esteemed individuals of that Society, one of the gentlemen thereof was the Secretary to the watering committee with whom I formed a lasting intimacy and continued friendship. At this time I was a widower and my only child, a little Daughter, was boarding with me, having given up housekeeping. This gentleman whose name was Tod advised me to take my little Daughter to Frankford, as Friend Love being a distant relation of his, he had no doubt that by his request, she would agree to take both the charge and care of her. This arrangement was finally agreed to and so fortunately commenced, seemed to be providentally intended, to fix my destiny forever thereafter.

The oldest of Friend Love's Daughters named Martha was married to a young man, named Harper. Their only son, then living named Isaac was in business and connected with his Fatherinlaw Love. The youngest Daughter Sarah lived at home with the family, the other Daughter named Mary was in due time married to myself. This occurrence I will notice viz:— After I took my little Daughter to what was called her new home the old people both Benjamin and Elizabeth Love, his wife, became very much attached to my little daughter and I

also perceived that Mary was the general manager and attendant on my Daughter. She was a very particular, sedate and exemplary young person and after my being acquainted some time I discovered that my Daughter was under her Direction and care.

At this time my business in Phi[a]. was exceedingly heavy and pressing and I frequently found it exceedingly inconvenient to pay either the Family or my Daughter a short visit to Frankford. A month would pass away before I could at times do so. However as time rolled on I gradually began to grow more Intimate and familiar with my new friends and my Daughter always called the old Lady Grandmother which gave me a little pleasure, and appeared to me like filling up a gap in my desolate state. Upwards of a Year had now passed by, and I was almost considered as one of the Family. My friend Tod frequently accompanied to Frankford, and in a conversation with him one day, I observed to him that I had succeeded so well from his advice in finding so good a home for my child, what would he say and advise if I was to make a proposition to offer myself for acceptance to his Cousin Mary Whitelock. To this he directly replied—I know my Cousin Mary well, a more discreet, kind and affectionate young Lady cannot be found and if thee succeeds, thee will do well and my advice to thee is that at a proper time thee can judge for thyself and make the attempt and both myself and my wife Elsey will aid thee in this matter. This is a true and correct statement of these well remembered circumstances. After I had far proceeded, I began to pay a little more attention to the object of my choice and I frequently accompanied Mary in my gig taking a ride into the Country, sometimes to Philadelphia to see her relations as several of them resided there, our interviews and intercourse thus advancing, I embraced a favourable oppertunity when we were taking a ride together and told her that I had placed my affection on her and desired to have her consent to accept of my addresses. This disclosure seemed a little to startle her and a dead silence ensued and after a little explanation and intreaty on my part, she

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merely replied that she was not prepared to answer me but she would consider thereon. This was the commencement of my second engagement and continued my attention as usual and nothing further was said on the subject for some time thereafter. But when I referred to this subject it was desired that our views should not be submitted to any one but ourselves. Thus we continued our intercourse and made preparations and in about a Year thereafter we were married in Phil[a]. and truly there never was a more kind affectionate, consistent and worthy woman to be found. During the whole period that we were united, being nearly forty four years my not being an acknowledged member of Friends Society, of course my wife was deprived of her membership. But this matter being adjusted according to the Rules thereof she was reinstated and continued a member untill she was removed from this world. But it was only at those times as we visited our Family connections and friends, either in Frankford, Phi[a]. or Balt. that she had an oppertunity of attending the meeting of Friends Society as our place of Residence was for upwards of 30 years in Allegany and Washington Counties, Maryland and during the whole period on all oppertunities that presented, she attended her religeous Duties, and was considered, a Regular, consistent member of the Quaker Society.

After what has heretofore been noticed, and after I had entered into the engagement of superintending, making the collections of Tolls and attending to the general business and interest of the Cumberland Turnpike Road Company, I had quite sufficient occupation for the Employment of all my time and a great portion thereof was of a laborious and troublesome character. My regular monthly traveling extended from Cumberland in Allegany unto Washington County, and Hagerstown, Maryland making a Distance, Back and forewards monthly 136 miles transmitting once a month, a Report of all Receipts and Expenditures and all occurrences that transpired requisite to be understood by the Board of Managers and Directors for their Information at their Monthly Meetings and this was performed

during a period of 18 years untill the Date of my resignation of the Road Co. business; and also my retiring from nearly all other Publick concerns.

Being about this time pretty well advanced in Life and both myself and Mary Davis being in the enjoyment of reasonable good health, we had fixed on a period to pay a visit to our oldest son, John Davis, Jun. and his little Family, who resided on a Farm in Allegany County about 14 miles East of Cumberland. It was here that it was the will of the Almighty that I should be visited with those unfortunate and afflicting calamities that it has been my Destiny to Record. We left Hagerstown on the morning of Sept. 6th, 1839 and arrived at my sons Farm the next day in the evening; after breakfast on the following morning, Sunday the 8th, my wife steped to the back Door of the Dwelling to take a little survey of the surrounding country. The House standing on a high hill, or elevation, the ground, at a short distance is of considerable Decent, and the grass being rather slippery from the Dew thereon, and she being a large, heavy woman, made a slip and in endeavouring to save herself, fell partly Backward, in such position, as to all appearances, produced a dislocation of the Hip. It was attended with the most intense pain and agony. She was immediately assisted and conveyed to her Room. The nearest Physician being 4 miles from Cumberland, lost no time, and was in attendance, as soon as possible, and everything that could be done to assuage the suffering was applied; after severall weeks had passed, there being no hopes of a speedy recovery, an omnibus, properly prepared, for the purpose with suitable Bedding and assistance, she was conveyed to her Home in Hagerstown, a Distance, 56 miles, occupying 5 Days and nights, under the suffering of much severe pain, and from the Day that the accident occured, untill the arrival Home, made it 83 Days. It was about a Year before she could be removed from the Bed and enabled to sit up, at intervals. After a considerable period, she gradually mended a little, in strength, and by the Use of Crutches, was enabled at times, to proceed, from one room to another, but being a very

Heavy and Weighty person, could be but seldom removed, to command as much exercise as desired. At last, the long continued confinement and the tedious inactivity, brought on, and produced, the Dropsey in the chest. These observations I will close, by quoting and refering to a Memorandom I have heretofore made on the aforesaid occasion and expressed to my Friends, viz.—

"After having the assistance of many eminent Physicians and embraceing all possible aid, and receiving every attention, that could be devised, during a period of 5 years and 7½ months, she was, by the will and decree of our Heavenly Father, consigned to her last resting place in the silent Tomb; on the 26th of April, 1845: in the 71st year of her age."

Thus has passed, the principle Incidents, and Recollections of an Individual who during a Long period of time, was occupied, and employed, at sundry intervals, in numerous, important undertakings and pursuits, and not, with any view of obtaining celebrity, or the least applause, of any particular community, although, with many of whom, he had formerly associated and frequently been, in close intimacy, and friendly intercourse; Being fully aware, that the simply calling or recalling, to memory, these unimportant considerations, is now, of little or no value whatever. To those who were present with me, during the period, that most of these transactions, above referred to transpired and is now as it were, like a dream, that has dissapeared, But as there are, a considerable number, of my own family, and Friends, that may be impelled, either by curiosity or by a fond desire, and inclination; to bring, both myself, and my former services, to their remembrance and view, although no published reccord, of such transactions has been deemed, of any importance, to the community whatever; yet to many of my relations and family, these memorandoms, I have no doubt, will be acceptable and may perhaps prevent and delay the time, and period when the name, of John Davis, and his former acts, and doings, will be entirely forgotten.

Let me now state, that since the record that has heretofore

been refered to, which was, the Death of my Dear wife, Mary Davis, on the 26th April 1845; there has been no incident, or event, but those of the usual, family occurrences, my time has been chiefly spent, and occupied, in walking exercise and occasionaly correspondence, with my children and Relatives.

About, say a few years since, I paid a visit, accompanied by my youngest son Charles, and my Grandaughter, Mary Jane Watson. We went to Baltimore; Philadelphia, and Frankford, occuping a few weeks among my friends.

About a year thereafter, I visited once more Baltimore, to see my three sons, who Reside there, two in the Mercantile business, the other, in the Medical profession. But on the 6th of March, 1848, I had a very sudden attack producing a failure in my memory and quite unconcious of passing events, something of a paralitick. I also find that my hearing is much impaired and at times my memory is so defective I cannot remember the names of those I converse with. But this occurs only at intervals and comes on without any previous intimation thereof.

I am truly thankful that my general health continues good and my eyesight much as it has been for several years past. And thereby I am enabled to commit to writing those ideas and thoughts that gives occupation to the mind and now when I consider the advanced period of my life being in the 81st. year of my age and as well in Bodily Health as I could almost wish or desire, however it may not be improper to state and remark that since the aforesaid memorandom's was commited to paper. My intercourse and correspondence with the various members of my family has been in the same regular manner as heretofore stated and another year nearly has been added to my already advanced period of Life.

And may I not with great propriety ask myself From whence have these daily and long continued mercies been received? By whom? And by what source have they been administered unto me, And thereby enabled me to take my pen, and answer these solemn, and important questions? Let me truly, and faithfully Answer, From my Saviour and my God. And most grate-

fully do I acknowledge his goodness for every Blessing granted unto me; humbly praying, that every error, that I may have committed or incurred, in my passed life may be blotted out and forgiven and that the few remaining days that may yet be alloted unto me, may be passed in preparing to appear in the presence of my Saviour and my God.

John Davis

Hagerstown, Washington Co., Md. Month January 1851.

THOMAS DEYE OWINGS OF MARYLAND:

Soldier and Pioneer of the West

A Record of His Life.

By Ferdinand B. Focke.

Thomas Deye Owings, son of Captain John Cockey Owings and his wife, Colgate Deye Colgate, was born at "John and Thomas Forest," Baltimore County, Maryland, March 7, 1776, and died at Brenham, Texas, October 6, 1853.

At an early age he was sent to Kentucky to manage the large holdings of his father, which consisted of the Slate Iron furnace, grist mills, and real estate. The Slate Iron furnace was owned in 1787 by a company composed of John Cockey Owings, President, Jacob Meyers, builder, Willis Green, Christopher Greenup. It came into blast about 1790. In 1795, John Cockey Owings became the owner by purchase. His son, Thomas, was manager until his father's death in 1810, when by inheritance, he became the sole owner. In 1822 because of the panic it failed, and was operated for a few years by the Owings Trustees who were appointed by the court.

Most of the malleable and cast iron used in the West and South came from this foundry. Articles made at the furnace were hauled to the Kentucky and Licking Rivers, loaded on flat boats, and shipped to Louisville, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New

Orleans. As early as 1807, the United States Government had a contract with this foundry to manufacture solid and grape shot for use in the West. In 1815, it made the 22 and 32 pound cannon balls used in the battle of New Orleans by General Andrew Jackson. The original furnace stack is still standing with an elm tree growing out of the top. A memorial tablet has been placed on the stack by the state of Kentucky.

General Owings married at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1803, Maria, the daughter of Colonel George Nicholes, son of Robert Carter Nicholes of Virginia and Kentucky and his wife Mary Smith, the daughter of John and Mary Buchanan Smith of Baltimore, Maryland.

After Colonel Owings' marriage, he lived in a stone house (fort) near the furnace until his home at Owingsville was completed in 1814. This is a large three-story brick building with basement, kitchen, and servants' quarters and heated by huge fireplaces. The mantels and wood work were black walnut, and were hand carved. The architect was Mr. Latrobe, of Baltimore. A wide hall went through the center of the building, and also had a spiral stairway, self-supporting, up to the third floor. This stairway which was made of mahogany, was made in Baltimore and hauled to Owingsville by ox carts. It is said to have cost ten thousand dollars. The mantels have disappeared, but the stairway still stands. The building is now occupied by a bank, law offices, hotel, and garage. The total cost of the house was estimated at sixty thousand dollars which was a huge sum at that time.

On his visit East, Colonel Owings met Louis Phillipe of France who was his guest from July 17, 1814, until July 22, 1815. The family have letters from Louis Phillipe and Lafayette in appreciation of his hospitality.

In the war of 1812, Colonel Owings recruited a regiment of 377 men, receiving his commission as Colonel of the 28th United States Infantry, April 1, 1813. They were attached to the Kentucky regiments under Governor Selby, and joined General Harrison's army in September, 1813. These troops landed on September 27th at Malden and on the 29th took possession

of Detroit without opposition. On October 2nd, General Harrison with Selby and 3,500 picked men recrossed the river and pursued General Proctor, who a few days before retreated to the Moravian towns on the Thames River, 86 miles north-west of Detroit, where a severe battle took place in which the Indian chief, Tecumseh, was killed by a Kentuckian.

About 84 men of Captain Stockton's company of 28th regular infantry volunteered to fight as marines and sharp-shooters in the rigging of Perry's ships in the naval battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1815. Commander Perry arrived off Sandusky on the 5th of September. Captain Richardson, who had been sent to Erie by General Harrison, returned with the fleet. He came immediately to headqharters at Senecatown to announce its arrival and request a company of soldiers to act as marines. General Harrison, accompanied by several officers, went to the fleet, taking with him a company commanded by Captain Stockton of the 28th regiment. Colonel Owings and 28 men volunteered under Lieutenant Coburn, relying on their skill as sharpshooters, were placed in the rigging. It is said that they helped win the victory for Commander Perry.

After the death of his wife and the loss of his fortune, Colonel Owings offered the services of himself and two sons in the war with Mexico for Texas independence. His son, Robert Smith Owings, was killed in battle, April 1, 1836, at San Jacinto. At the close of the war he lived at Brenham, Texas, where both he and sons are buried.

Colonel Owings was State Senator of Kentucky in 1823, and Representative, 1815-1818. Associated Judge of the first Circuit Court of Bath County, 1811. His land grants were signed by Henry Clay.

Mary Nicholas Owings, born Sept. 23, 1812, daughter of Thomas Deye Owings and wife Maria, married May 9, 1835, at Owingsville, Ky., Sylvanus Clark Bascom; their daughter Maria Charchilla Bascom, born March 1, 1839, married 1874, Doctor Charles Albert of Baltimore, whose daughter Frances Taylor Albert, born 1875, married William A. Pleasants of Baltimore and Idaho.

OWENS BIBLE RECORDS.

Births

Isaac Owens was born the 9th day of May 1729.

Priscilla Norman Owens was born the 7th day of April, 1736.

Joseph Owens was born the 4th day of February, 1780.

Anne Rutter Owens was born the 17th day of April, 1788.

Edward Thomas Owens was born the 24th day of August, 1809.

Isaac Burneston Owens was born the 26th day of December, 1811.

Priscilla Owens was born the 4th day of June, 1819.

Joseph Rutter Owens, son of I. B. and Priscilla Owens, was born the 20th day of February, 1839.

Ann Elizabeth, daughter of I. B. and Priscilla Owens, was born the 5th day of March, 1844.

Virginia Burneston Owens, daughter of I. B. and Priscilla Owens, was born the 23rd day of February, 1847.

Mary Burneston Owens, daughter of I. B. and Priscilla Owens, was born the 14th day of October, 1854.

Bessie Maynard, daughter of J. R. and Gertrude Owens, was born October 22nd, 1869.

Edward Thomas Owens, son of Jos. R. and Gertrude E. Owens, was born March 8th, 1871.

Alice Councilman, daughter of Jos. R. and Gertrude E. Owens, was born March 14th, 1872.

Maggie, daughter of J. R. and Gertrude E. Owens, was born September 3rd, 1873.

Isaac Burneston, son of J. R. and Gertrude E. Owens, was born on the 22nd of December, 1875.

Charles C. Owens, son of J. R. and Gertrude E. Owens, was born December 31st, 1877.

Christiana D. Owens, daughter of J. R. and Gertrude E. Owens, was born September 19th, 1879.

Arthur Burneston, son of Arthur and Mary B. Owens, was born December 25th, 1877.

Rodolphe, son of Arthur and Mary B. Owens, was born April 10th, 1880.

Edward Thomas, son of Arthur and Mary B. Owens, was born May 25th, 1883.

Gertrude Councilman, infant daughter of Arthur and Mary B. Owens, born October 5th, 1881; died October 6th, 1881.

Marriages

Isaac Burneston Owens and Priscilla Owens, were married on the 14th of December, A. D., 1837, by the Rev. T. E. Bond.

Joseph Rutter Owens and Roberta V. Zimmerman, were married on the 24th day of November, 1863, by the Rev. Dr. R. Fuller.

Joseph R. Owens and Gertrude E. Councilman, were married on the 25th day of November, 1868, by the Rev. Dr. Lockwood.

Joseph Owens and Ann Rutter, were married on the 17th day of April, 1805, by the Rev. Mr. Hagerty.

Edward T. Owens and Susan G. Buck, were married on the 15th day of December, 1840, by the Rev. Sam'l Kepler.

Edward T. Owens and Maggie Muller, were married on the 11th day of November, 1858, by the Rev. R. L. Dashiell.

Arthur Owens and Mary B. Owens, were married on the 31st day of October, 1876, by the Rev. T. C. Gambrall.

Arthur Burneston Owens (son of Arthur and Mary Burneston Owens) and Emilie Ethel Bent, were married on the 6th day of November, 1909, at " Fernside " Alameda, California.

Deaths

Isaac Owens, departed this life on the 21st day of September, 1805. Aged 76 yrs. 4 mos. 12 days.

Priscilla Norman Owens, wife of Isaac Owens, departed this life on April 28th, 1812. Aged 76 yrs. 21 days.

Ann Rutter Owens, wife of Joseph Owens, departed this life

on the morning of the 24th of January, 1844. Aged 55 yrs. 9 mos. 7 days. She was a devoted and affectionate Mother, wife and friend. She lived a Christian and died in the assured hope of a blessed immortality.

Joseph Owens, senior, departed this life on the 15th day of January, 1849. Aged 69 yrs. 11 mos. 11 days.

Annie E. Owens, daughter of I. B. and Priscilla Owens, departed this life on the 18th of April, 1891. Aged 47 yrs.

Isaac Burneston Owens, departed this life on the 23rd day of February, 1854. Aged 42 yrs. 1 mo. 28 days.

Virginia Burneston Owens, daughter of I. Burneston Owens and Priscilla his wife, departed this life on the 9th day of April, 1847. Aged 6 weeks.

Roberta, beloved wife of Joseph R. Owens, departed this life on the evening of the 7th of September, 1864. Aged 22 yrs. 3 mos. 7 days. She needs no tribute to her memory, as she will always live in the hearts of those who knew her.

Bessie Maynard Owens, departed this life the 28th of January, 1870. Aged 3 mos. Daughter of J. R. and Gertrude E. Owens.

Edward Thomas Owens, departed this life the 15th of April, 1871. Aged 5 weeks. Son of J. R. and Gertrude E. Owens.

Annie E. Owens, daughter of I. B. and Priscilla Owens, departed this life April 18th, 1891. Aged 47 yrs.

Mary B. Owens, daughter of I. B. and Priscilla Owens, departed this life June 16th, 1904. Aged 49 yrs.

Joseph Rutter Owens, son of Isaac Burneston Owens and Priscilla his wife, departed this life March 15th, 1909. Aged 70 yrs. 24 days. He needs no tribute to his memory, as he will always live in the hearts of those who knew him.

Edward Thomas Owens, son of Arthur Owens and the late Mary Burneston Owens, departed this life on the 16th day of December, 1921, in the 39th year of his age. May his soul rest in peace.

Arthur Owens, son of Nicholas and Mary D. Owens, departed this life on the 28th of July, 1927, in his 77th year.

Arthur Burneston Owens, son of Arthur and Mary Burneston Owens, departed this life on the 8th day of September, 1932.

Joseph Rutter Owens was baptized (by sprinkling) on the 15th day of December, 1840; by Rev. T. E. Bond.

Anne Elizabeth Owens was baptized (by sprinkling) 26th December, 1844, by Rev. Wm. Hamilton.

Virginia Burneston Owens was baptized (by sprinkling) on the 9th day of April, 1847, by Rev. Robert Cadden.

Mary Burneston Owens was baptized (by sprinkling) by the Rev. M. Morgan (date missing on entry).

Bible published by Joseph N. Lewis, owned by Mrs. Arthur Burneston Owens, Baltimore.

Copied by Ferdinand B. Focke.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

November 12th, 1934.—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with President Harris in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, as read.

A list of the donations made to the Library and Gallery since the last meeting was read.

Mr. Louis H. Dielman was recognized by the Chair. He called the members attention to the very interesting gift of Mr. Gilman Paul, consisting of the diary of John Davis of Harford County, and some sixty odd drawings from Davis' estate containing a number of water colours by Latrobe and several plans of the Baltimore Water Works.

It was *moved,* that a special vote of thanks be extended to Mr. Paul for his continued interest in the Society. The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

The following named persons were elected to Membership:

Active:

H. Lee Bowen, Ph. D.
Mrs. Richmond Irving Bowie
Mr. F. Scott Fitzgerald
Phillip Dougherty, Ph. D.
Mr. Alexander M. Fulford
Dr. Justinus Gould
Dr. W. M. Hillgeist
Mrs. Howard W. Jackson
Miss Eliza Ingle
Miss Bertha P. Isaacs
Miss Elinor F. McCurley
Miss Jessie H. Meyer
Rev. John A. Risacher
Mr. Richard Julian Rozel
Mrs. G. Ridgely Sappington
Mrs. Lee Webster Selfe
Mr. Douglas N. Sharretts
Mr. Theodore E. Straus
Mrs. William H. Tilghman

Associate:

Maj. Fielder Bowie Chew
Mr. Joseph William Dean
Mr. John J. Dolan
Frank W. Gardner, M. D.
William W. Radcliffe, Esq.
Mr. A. C. Veatch
Mr. Campbell Easter Waters
Maj. C. T. Griffith, U.S.A.Ret.
Mr. Fulton Lewis
Mrs. Florence A. Price

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Rev. Armand DeRosset Meares, October 12th, 1934.
Mr. William Ross Howard, October 20th, 1934.

Miss Carolina V. Davison was recognized by the Chair. She presented, and gave a brief account of the picture of the Battle of Pultowa, sketched by M. Godefroy, 1804; and also spoke of the French in Baltimore and asked that each member of the Society please bear in mind the necessity of collecting any material relating to the French in Baltimore and if any such material comes to their knowledge please to notify the Librarian.

The speakers of the evening were introduced. Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler spoke on the plans of the New Hall of Records at Annapolis and showed pictures of the exterior and interior of the building. Mr. Fowler is the architect of the building. Mr. Arthur Trader spoke of the treasures now housed in the Land

Office at Annapolis, and which will eventually be filed in the New Hall of Records.

It was moved, seconded and unanimously carried, that the thanks of the Society be extended to the speakers for their very interesting and instructive talks.

December 10th, 1934.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight, with Vice-President Riggs in the chair.

The members were advised that on account of illness President Harris could not be present at the meeting.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, as read.

Vice-President Riggs read the following communication from President Harris:

"*To The Maryland Historical Society:*

"Acting under medical direction, I am constrained to resign the position of President of the Maryland Historical Society and shall be indebted if such resignation be effective as of November 12, since which date I have performed no official act.

"Permit me to express my high appreciation of the courtesy and consideration which has been vouchsafed to me by the Society during the long period of my membership and for the unmerited honors it has been good enough to bestow upon me.

"Very respectfully,

"W. Hall Harris."

Mr. Shriver was recognized by the Chair. He said that although the knowledge of Mr. Harris' intention to resign as President of the Society had reached the Council, at its meeting held on the 6th instant, it had come as a great shock to us all and he asked that the Society postpone the acceptance of this resignation.

Mr. Ingle was recognized by the Chair and he offered the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The Society, with deep regret has learned of the illness of its President, Mr. W. Hall Harris, and that as a consequence and under the advice of his physician he has been moved to proffer his resignation from the office which he has for so long a period faithfully and gracefully filled, therefore be it

"RESOLVED, that Mr. Harris be requested to refrain from pressing his resignation, at least until the date of the approaching annual meeting of the Society, in the sincere hope that meanwhile his physical condition will so greatly improve as to permit him to reconsider his present purpose."

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Mr. J. Alexis Shriver was recognized by the Chair. He stated for the information of the members that the Council, at its meeting held on the sixth instant, had appointed Vice-President Riggs as Acting President during the illness of Mr. Harris.

The following named persons having been previously nominated, were elected to Membership:

Active:

Mr. Joseph Addison
Miss Lena G. Townshend

Associate:

Mrs. Mary Hoss Headman
Mrs. Mary Lamar (Sprigg) Gordon
Mrs. Ballinger Mills
Mr. Samuel H. Baker

Mr. James E. Hancock, the speaker of the evening, was recognized by the Chair. He read a paper entitled "The Baltimore Clipper and an old Baltimore Shipbuilder."

Mr. Shriver was recognized by the Chair and made the following motion,

"MOVED, that the thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. Hancock for his most interesting paper, and for the thought given to its preparation."

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

January 14th, 1935.—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with Acting-President Riggs in the chair.

A list of the donations made to the library and gallery since the last meeting was read.

Mr. J. Alexis Shriver reported the gift from the Estate of the late Mrs. Mary Washington Keyser of seventy odd prints and photographs known as the personal collection of Washingtoniana made by Mrs. Keyser.

Mr. Shriver also presented a plan of Fort Frederick showing the various restorations made by the C. C. C.

Dr. Pleasants reported that Volume 51, *Archives of Maryland,* being the "Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of Maryland (Court Series 5) 1669-1679" is now ready for distribution. The special price of this volume to members of the Society is one dollar; the list price is three dollars.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Active:

Mrs. Charles Reid Edwards	Mr. Ernest W. Kemp
Mr. Frederic J. Irish	Mrs. Archibald E. MacBride

The question of Mr. Harris' resignation was presented. The Secretary read a letter from Mr. Harris in answer to a communication sent to him stating the action taken in the matter of his resignation at the December meeting of the Society, asking that his resignation be accepted at the January meeting before nominations were made for the Offices and various Committees for the annual election.

Mr. Dielman was recognized by the Chair. He stated that it was with "great and sincere personal regret that he moved the acceptance of the resignation of W. Hall Harris as President of the Society. Mr. Harris has been President since 1921 and the Society owes much to his unfailing interest in its affairs, and to him we are indebted for the institution of the Budget System which has proved of great benefit to the financial condition of the Society.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Ferdinand B. Focke.

Mr. J. Alexis Shriver was recognized by the Chair. He stated that he would like to see the Society take some recognition of Mr. Harris' services to it so that he would still have some official connection with the activities with which he has for so long been connected, as Mr. Harris's breaking away from his long associations with the Society really hurts the members of the Society.

It was stated that the Constitution of the Society has provided that an ex-President of the Society shall serve as a member of the Council.

The motion to accept Mr. Harris' resignation, having been duly seconded, was carried.

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Mr. Harry F. Reese, on September 12, 1934.
Mrs. Charles Stewart Chesney, on October 29th, 1934.
Mr. Thomas Marshall Smith, on December 12th, 1934.

Mr. Henry J. Fickus was recognized by the Chair. It was stated that nominations for the Offices and various Committees was in order and the following named persons were placed in nomination:

For President.
Clinton L. Riggs.

For Vice-Presidents.
Richard M. Duvall. J. Hall Pleasants.
George L. Radcliffe.

For Corresponding Secretary.
J. Alexis Shriver.

For Recording Secretary.
James E. Hancock.

For Treasurer.
Heyward E. Boyce.

For the Trustees of the Athenaeum.

G. Corner Fenhagen, *Chairman.*

William G. Baker, Jr. — Jesse N. Bowen.
Randolph Barton, Jr. — William H. Greenway.
William C. Page.

For the Committee on the Gallery.

Laurence Hall Fowler, *Chairman.*

Thomas C. Corner. — R. McGill Mackall.
John M. Dennis. — Lawrason Riggs.

For the Committee on the Library.

Louis H. Dielman, *Chairman.*

Henry J. Berkley. — Edward B. Mathews.
Walter I. Dawkins. — Gilman Paul.
George Harrison. — A. Morris Tyson.

For the Committee on Finance.

William Ingle, *Chairman.*

Charles E. Rieman. — Peter E. Tome.

For the Committee on Publications.

Samuel K. Dennis, *Chairman.*

J. Hall Pleasants. — John M. Vincent.

For the Committee on Membership.

Daniel R. Randall, *Chairman.*

Alice H. Brent. — T. Murray Maynadier.
George Arnold Frick. — James Cresap Sprigg.
Macgill James. — Francis E. Waters.

For the Committee on Genealogy.

William B. Marye, *Chairman.*

Walter W. Beers. — Ferdinand B. Focke.
Jane James Cook. — Harriet P. Marine.
Percy G. Skirven.

For the Committe on Addresses and Literary Entertainment.

Kent Roberts Greenfield, *Chairman.*

B. Howell Griswold, Jr. — Edward McColgan.

Mr. Francis E. Old, moved that the nominations be accepted, as presented.

It was stated that additional nominations could be made from the floor. There being no further nominations the Motion was seconded and carried.

The members were further informed that additional nominations could be made within ten days from this meeting in writing, over the signature of five members entitled to vote.

The speaker of the evening, Rev. John A. Risacher, S. J., read a most interesting paper entitled "A Maryland Historian Abroad—Thomas J. Hughes, S. J."

It was moved by Mr. J. Alexis Shriver that the thanks of the Society be extended to Father Risacher for his most scholarly and interesting paper.

February 11th, 1935.—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with Acting President Riggs in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved as read.

A list of the donations made to the Library and Gallery since the January meeting was read.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Active:

Mrs. Jackson Brandt
Mr. Jackson Brandt
Miss Louise E. Carroll
Mrs. L. F. Cromwell
Mr. Edward A. Doehler
Mr. Frank Jacobs
Mr. Richard Laws Lee
Mr. E. Randolph Wootten
Maj. William Burnett Wright

Associate:

Dr. Henry Ridgley Evans

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Dr. Henry M. Fitzhugh, on January 25th, 1935.
Mr. Willard A. Baldwin, on January 29th, 1935.

Upon motion duly seconded and carried the Monthly meeting adjourned and the Annual Meeting of the Society was held.

After adjournment of the Annual meeting the Chair recognized Mr. Carl Pfeiffer, Assistant State Forester, who gave a brief sketch of the history of Fort Frederick. The talk was followed by lantern slides showing the condition of the Fort before it was taken over by the State, and then moving pictures were shown of the Fort as it now is being restored by the C. C. C. under the direction of the State Forestry Department.

At the close of the pictures Mr. William B. Marye moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Mr. Pfeiffer for his interesting talk.

The Chair recognized Senator McCulloh Browne who gave a brief account of the Fort and the interest which was stirred up some years ago among the people of Maryland which made it possible to have it purchased by the State.

Upon motion duly seconded and unanimously carried the thanks of the Society were extended to Senator Browne for his short talk.

The members of the Society were advised that the various exhibition rooms would be open to the members and their guests who found it inconvenient to visit them during the regular hours of the Society.

ANNUAL MEETING.

February 11, 1935.—The Annual Meeting of the Society was called to order by Acting President Riggs, immediately upon adjournment of the regular monthly meeting.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were not read as it was stated that same had been printed in the Maryland Historical Magazine.

It was moved, seconded and carried, that the Secretary cast the Ballot, as printed, as no additional nominations had been made since the January meeting of the Society, therefore those persons nominated stood for election.

The Secretary cast the Ballot and the results were announced. (See pages 50-51.)

Receipt was acknowledged of the Annual Reports of the various Committees and it was stated that the same would not be read as they would be printed in the March 1935 issue of the Maryland Historical Magazine.

General Clinton L. Riggs stated that he greatly appreciated the honor conferred upon him by the Society in selecting him as its President, and said that it was his hope that he would be able to measure up in part to his predecessor and that he would do his best with the aid of the members of the Society to carry on the aims and interests of the Society and to enlarge its membership which has fallen off so considerably.

President Riggs read the Report of Council, as follows, stating that it was a brief account of the Annual Reports as submitted by the various Committees.

Report of the Council.

The activities of the Society during the year 1934 have been perceptibly slowed up by a steadily decreasing income, due more to the swelling volume of resignations from members than to a further reduction from the income of investments.

The department which has suffered most is the library where there has not only been an almost complete cessation in purchases but a rapid and alarming deterioration of the books on its shelves because of the lack of funds to repair and rebind the numerous important books that have been withdrawn from use because of their condition. As would be expected the books which have suffered most are those which are in the greatest demand, resulting in very great inconvenience to those who use the library.

The Committee on the Gallery has been able to announce the gifts of many valuable paintings during the past year. The large collection of family portraits, miniatures, drawings and silhouettes, given by Mr. H. Oliver Thompson is a most valuable addition. From Mr. George Macdonald has been received a beautiful Charles Willson Peale portrait of his ancestor

Henry Waggaman of Dorchester County, Maryland. Dr. Henry J. Berkley has also presented a most interesting collection of old family portraits.

The Committee on Publication has reported the issuance of

The
Maryland Historical Society

The Maryland Historical Society has been engaged for the past 85 years in collecting, preserving and diffusing information relating to the civil, military and literary history of this State and to American history and biography generally.

Its collections of books, manuscripts, files of old newspapers, paintings, rare prints and engravings is extensive and valuable.

Since 1844 it has published many pamphlets of historical interest and the Maryland Historical Magazine, a quarterly now in its twenty-fourth volume.

The State of Maryland has made it the custodian of many of its Provincial manuscripts and by authority of the Legislature and under the direction of this Society these ancient records, Colonial and Revolutionary, are being put into print. Forty-six large quarto volumes have been issued and others are in progress.

Genealogical investigators are greatly assisted by the information in the Society's Collection, a part of which consists of indexed copies of nearly all the early Parish Records of the Province and State.

The Society believes that there are many persons who are not familiar with its collections and activities and who would take pride and pleasure in assisting its work by becoming members.

There is no initiation fee and the annual dues are five dollars which includes subscription to the magazine and admission to the monthly lectures.

Chairman,

Committee on Membership,

Maryland Historical Society.

Sir:

I desire to make application for membership in the Maryland Historical Society, and herewith enclose check for $5.00.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

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Name.....

Address.....

Henry Waggaman of Dorchester County, Maryland. Dr. Henry J. Berkley has also presented a most interesting collection of old family portraits.

The Committee on Publication has reported the issuance of four numbers of the Maryland Historical Magazine, for the year 1934, under the editorial supervision of Mr. Louis H. Dielman, and a Volume, LI, of the Archives of Maryland containing the "Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of Maryland: 1669-1679," under the editorship of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants.

The Committee on Membership reports the addition of ninety-one new members, and a loss of one hundred and eighteen old members, the membership for 1934 standing at nine hundred and sixty-one (961) compared with nine hundred and eighty-eight (988) in the year 1933. This represents a loss of twenty-seven members for the year and a drop in membership since 1929 of three hundred and thirty-three (333), showing a decrease in the last five years of over twenty-five per cent. Unless a concentrated movement to increase the membership is made further curtailment in the activities of the Society will be inevitable.

The Committee on Addresses has been unusually energetic and the papers read before the Society during the past year have been more than usually interesting and valuable.

The Committee on Genealogy has been instrumental in adding several copies of church records and manuscript pedigrees to the library.

The Trustees of the Athenaeum have had the difficult problem of keeping in good physical condition the buildings of the Society, although it is obvious to everyone that considerable additional appropriations will be necessary in the near future to repaint the interior of the buildings and in other ways to render it more presentable.

The report of the Treasurer, presented elsewhere in more detail, shows the present financial condition of the Society. The Society is to be congratulated that the Treasurer, Mr. Hey-

ward E. Boyce, who was injured in an accident last year has recovered his health and is able to take charge of its financial affairs. During the year the Society has welcomed to its rooms the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Maryland, the Institute of Arts of Early Maryland conducted by Goucher College, and the members of the Sons of the American Revolution who were attending the National Convention of their Society being held in the City of Baltimore.

Respectfully submitted,

CLINTON L. RIGGS,
For the Council.

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

The Committee on Publications distributed Volume fifty-one of the Archives of Maryland in the year 1934, this volume being the "Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of Maryland (Court Series 5), 1669-1679." It is hoped Volume fifty-two, "Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly 1755-1756," now in press, will be issued during the early part of 1935.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* continues to be edited by Mr. Louis H. Dielman. Volume twenty-nine appeared during the year 1934. It is to be regretted, for economy, a reduction in the size of the Magazine has been made necessary.

Following is a statement of the Magazine allowance:

Appropriation for 1934		$1,750.00
Cost of Printing Vol. 28, No. 4	$ 286.10	
Vol. 29, No. 1	395.75	
Vol. 29, No. 2	359.85	
Vol. 29, No. 3	309.45	
Vol. 29, No. 4	295.70	
	$1,646.85	

Postage for distribution	$ 73.33	
Editor	200.00	
	273.33	
		1,920.18
Deficit		$ 170.18

NOTE: A resolution passed by the Council 12/6/34 authorized the Treasurer to pay the deficit from the General Funds.

Respectfully submitted,

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

SAMUEL K. DENNIS, *Chairman,*
J. HALL PLEASANTS,
JOHN M. VINCENT.

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.

January 1st, 1934. Total Membership			988
Life Members	18		
Associate Members	138		
Active Members	832		
		988	
1934—Members lost by death	24		
Members lost by Resignation	45		
Members dropped for non-payment of dues	49		
		118	
			870
1934—New Members—Life	1		
Active	66		
Associate	24		
		91	
Total Membership, December 31, 1934			961

Total decrease for year 1934, 27 members.

Respectfully submitted,

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.

Report of the Trustees of the Athenaeum.

I beg to submit herewith report of the Trustees of the Athenaeum for the calendar year 1934.

The budget allowance for the year was $2,000.00, and we have expended during 1934 for repairs, fuel, insurance, taxes, burglary protection and miscellaneous items, a total of $2,081.26, leaving a deficit of $81.26.

The reduction in the budget allowance and the total expenditures for this year is the result of the transfer of certain salary items formerly carried on this account, to another account.

In the interest of economy the cost of repairs has been kept at a minimum during the past few years and as a result there are a good many places about the building which now need attention, and which will have to be taken up in the very near future if the building is to be maintained in reasonably good condition.

The following is a detailed statement of our account:

Appropriation for 1934		$2,000.00
Expenditures:		
Repairs:		
General upkeep	$ 33.59	
Grill on Leakin window	45.00	
Furnace	89.20	
Repairs to Leakin door	21.24	
Repairs to coping	27.80	
	216.83	
Supplies	$ 58.16	
Extra Labor	6.00	
Insurance	242.51	
Coal	561.70	
Removing ashes from cellar	50.00	
Water rent	27.80	
Taxes	323.41	
Light	167.65	
Amer. District Telegraph	427.20	
		2,081.26
Deficit		$ 81.26

Respectfully submitted,

G. Corner Fenhagen,

Chairman.

Report of the Gallery Committee for 1934.

It is regretted that it was found necessary, due to the lack of an appropriation for the year 1934, to discontinue the cleaning and glazing of the portraits in the Gallery. However, by special permission of the Council, we are having cleaned and glazed a very valuable portrait of Henry Waggaman of Dorchester County, Maryland, by Charles Willson Peale, the gift of Mr. George S. Macdonald.

The Committee cooperated with Hochschild Kohn & Company, and Hutzler Brothers, as well as Butler Brothers, by lending these various companies items for the purpose of window displays during the Maryland Tercentenary Celebration.

The Enoch Pratt Free Library borrowed several rare Poe items which were exhibited in the Poe Room in the new library, as well as several miscellaneous items which were used for window displays.

Permission was granted Mr. Joseph L. Wheeler, of the Pratt Library, to reproduce in his volume on Maryland History, which appeared during the spring, certain paintings in the possession of the Society.

During the National Meeting of the Sons of the American Revolution, which was held in Baltimore during the summer, the Society and its Gallery was visited by many of the S. A. R. members.

The Gallery has been visited during the year by many out of town visitors to the City, as well as by numerous students in the Colleges, High Schools and Grammar Schools of the City.

Through the generosity of its members and friends the Society has added numerous items of great interest to its Gallery. Following you find a list enumerating the articles received.

Reciprocating Drill used in gun manufacture. Said to be over 100 years old. Gift of Mr. E. Berkley Bowie, through Dr. Henry J. Berkley.

Original wash drawing of Union Manufacturies of Maryland on the Patapsco Falls (near Oella) Baltimore County. Gift of Mr. John J. Schwarz.

Sash weight salvaged from Allegany County Academy building during remodeling by the Federal Government Funds, 1934. Gift of Mr. George Henderson.

Photograph of William Claiborne and also one of Thomas Kennedy. Gift of Mr. Coleman Blum.

Photograph of miniature of Mrs. Francis Scott Key (Mary Tayloe Lloyd), by Robert Field. Gift of Mrs. Key's granddaughter Mrs. Arthur T. Brice. Lithograph of the Visitation Academy, Frederick, Maryland, on front of piece of music "Distribution March" composed by Henry Dielman. Gift of Mr. Louis H. Dielman.

Three drawings of the State House at St. Mary's.

1. Shows State House, without chimney, 1676.
2. Shows State House, with chimney, 1678.
3. Shows cliffs off St. Mary's City with State House in distance.

These drawings were made by Mr. Thomas B. Owings, Architect, from descriptions found in the *Archives of Maryland.* Gift of Dr. Henry J. Berkley.

Old Clay preserving stove, over 100 years old, formerly the property of the Cockey Family of Garrison, Maryland. Gift of Mrs. William B. Cockey.

Maryland Tercentenary Medal, issued May, 1934. Gift of Louis H. Dielman.

Certificate of the stone presented to the Washington Monument, Washington, D. C., by the school children of Baltimore. Gold medal awarded to Miss Mary E. Tolou for excellence in deportment at Visitation Academy, Baltimore, 1858. Miscellaneous collection of prints showing views of Old Baltimore. Gifts of Mrs. Grace Elder (Toulou) Lastner.

Shawl, 1820, originally owned by Ruth Nace Linaweaver, gift of her great granddaughter Mrs. Lewis Baer.

Medal in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the death of Lafayette, struck by the French Government Mint, drawn and engraved Gatteaux, 1830. Gift of Hon. Jules Henry, Chargé d'Affaires of France.

Photograph of the Poultney Mansion at Bel Air, Maryland. Gift of Mrs. Mary H. McKesson.

Miscellaneous collection of photographs of persons and plans in Baltimore. Gift of Mrs. Mary B. Redwood.

Water colour of the ship "Harriet of Baltimore," Matthew Kelly, Captain, July 1823. Photograph of the Brady Mansion on Gilmor Lane, 1882. Gifts of Miss M. Virginia J. Aiken.

Portraits of Reverdy Ghiselin, attributed to White of Phila.; Mrs. Thomas S. Alexander (Priscilla Ghiselin, great, great, granddaughter of Caesar Ghiselin) by Linen; Thomas S. Alexander, by Bendann. Gift of Dr. Henry J. Berkley.

Photograph of Col. Harry Gilmor, by Brady of N. Y. Gift of Miss Alice Gilmor.

Portrait of Henry Waggaman of Dorchester County, Maryland; by Charles Willson Peale. Gift of Mr. George S. McDonald.

Old hoe found by Mr. Freeland on the Calvert Cliffs, near Parker's Creek, Calvert County, Maryland. Gift of Mr. Victor E. Freeland.

Two Maryland Day badges, used at Charleston, S. C. Exposition, April 1902. Two Official Souvenir badges of Baltimore Fire (Feb. 7-9, 1904) Jubilee held September 9-16, 1906. Gift of Mr. Alfred T. Hoen.

A cane made in 1907 by Mr. Roland O. Meade, master mechanic at the U. S. Naval Academy, from wood of the "Peggy Stewart" and the first State House of Maryland. Gift of Mr. Lee Meade Williams, nephew of Mr. Meade.

Oil painting of the ship "The A. J. Bentley" of Baltimore, Maryland, presented in memory of Captain George Wallace Bunnell, 1837-1882, by his daughter Miss Theora J. Bunnell.

Miscellaneous collection of views of Baltimore City, and Maryland, by Mr. Louis H. Dielman.

Brick from Friends Meeting House, Union Bridge, Maryland. Picture of the Friends Meeting House at Union Bridge, before the fire which destroyed it in October 1934. Picture of the Buckey Home near Union Bridge, Maryland. Gifts of Miss Marion Francis Buckey, and Master George Peter Buckey III.

Oil painting of "Old Trinity" Church, Church Creek, Dorchester County, Maryland. Gift of the artist, J. Sudy, 1934.

Respectfully submitted,

LAURENCE HALL FOWLER,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES AND LITERARY ENTERTAINMENT.

The Committee was very successful in the past year in obtaining excellent speakers and interesting subjects for the regular monthly meetings of the Society. It is regretted that but few of the talks have been published. Following is a list of the speakers and the title of their papers presented during the year:

January 8, 1934—"Maximilian and Eliza Godefroy: A contribution to Maryland bibliography." By Miss Carolina V. Davison.

February 12, 1934—"Some New Facts About Fort McHenry." By Mr. James E. Hancock.

March 12, 1934—"John Baskerville." By Rev. Harris E. Kirk.

April 9, 1934—"Lafayette in Maryland." By Mr. J. Bennett Nolan.

May 14, 1934—"Historians and Historical Societies." A joint talk by Kent Roberts Greenfield, Ph. D., and William Stull Holt, Ph. D.

October 8, 1934—"Old Somerset." By Rev. William Clayton Torrence.

November 12, 1934—"New Hall of Records at Annapolis." A joint talk by Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler, Architect of Building, and Mr. Arthur Trader, Deputy Land Commissioner.

December 10, 1934—"The Baltimore Clipper and an Old Baltimore Shipbuilder." By Mr. James E. Hancock.

Respectfully submitted,

J. Alexis Shriver,
Chairman.

Report of the Treasurer.

GENERAL ACCOUNT

Balance on hand January 1st, 1934			$ 92.28
Receipts			
Dues from Members		$4,872.00	
General Acct.:			
Rent	$40.00		
Photostat	22.70		
Telephone	39.25		
Books Sold	60.00		
Miscellaneous	89.25		
		251.20	
Perm. End. Fund (Orra E. Monnette)		25.00	
Income Peabody Fund		850.00	
Income other than Peabody Fund		2,901.52	
Income Athenaeum Fund		4,665.84	
Income Audubon Fund		84.00	
Investigation and Searches		10.00	
Confederate Relics		50.00	
Certificate of Membership		6.00	
Publication Committee		26.36	
Library Committee		80.50	
Magazine Account		306.56	
Payment in connection with exchange of $2,000 Calvert Mortgage bonds		600.00	
			14,728.98
			$14,821.26

EXPENDITURES

General Acct.:			
Salaries	$6,658.33		
Trustee Acct.	2,075.09		
Office	393.98		
Treasurer	122.75		
Address Com.	22.25		
Miscellaneous	48.00		
		9,320.40	
Magazine Account		1,646.85	
Library Com.		1,225.57	
Publication Com.		287.33	
Gallery & Paintings		18.00	
			12,498.15
Balance on hand December 31st, 1934			$ 2,323.11

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT—1934.

Of the above cash balance the following items belong to Principal Account.

Payment in connection with exchange of $2,000 Calvert Mortgage Bonds	$600.00
Orra E. Monette (Gift)	25.00
M. G. M. Dick (Life Membership) 1932	100.00
Uninvested Balance from 1931/1932 Reports	119.53
	$844.53

During the year $2,000 Calvert Mortgage Co. 6% bonds in the adjustment plan were surrendered in lieu of $1,400 Calvert Mortgage 2%-5% bonds, 1953 and $600 in cash and $10,000 Arundel Mortgage 5½% bonds under a similar plan were exchanged for $10,000 Arundel Mortgage 2-5% bonds, due 1953.

HEYWARD E. BOYCE,
Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND HERALDRY.

The Committee reports that it had but one meeting during the year. It was found necessary to make a charge of five dollars, per person, for the service of listing and distributing the printed list of genealogists.

The Committee is indebted to Mr. Ferdinand B. Focke for his untiring interest in collecting copies of old bible records, as

well as records copied from the burial stones in various graveyards of the Owings family.

An exceedingly large number of books and manuscripts have been added to the genealogical section of the library through the interest of members and friends, a detailed list being submitted herewith:

Census of the City of Annapolis & Anne Arundel County, April 25, 1801. Gife of Miss Elsie M. Williams.

Copy of will of Rowland Thornbury, Baltimore Co., 1696. Gift of Delmar Leon Thornbury.

Dukehart, Dotterer, Murphy & Latrobe Families. Gift of Morton McI. Dukehart, the compiler.

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Descendants of Henry Keller of York County, Pennsylvania & Fairfield County, Ohio; by E. S. Shumacher, 1924. Gift of Mrs. Clayton Seitz.

Will of Charles Bevan, Prince George Co., 1690. Will of Charles Bevan, Jr., Prince George Co., 1761. Will of Benjamin Wheeler, Balto. & Prince George Counties, 1769. Additional inventory of Benjamin Wheeler. Indenture Richard Bevan & Richard B. Gardiner, Charles County, 1810. Gift of Mrs. Luella Sinclair Olson.

Genealogical chart of the Price Family of Gunpowder River. Gift of Mr. Harry T. Price.

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Genealogical collection of the late Dr. A. C. Peale, including data on the following named families: Bargner, Budd, Becker, Benjamin, Burd, Bruce, Brewers, Dorsey, Grosse, Howard, Hubley, Hollinger, Halleburton, McCubbin, Patterson, Polk, Pollock, Preston, Ridgley, Ramsey, Shippen, Stewart, Wisewell, Warfield. Gift of Mrs. Andrew Weisenburg.

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The Pountney Family, Descendants of William Pountney of Birmingham. Gift of Edwin Pountney Davis.

Magruders Maryland Colonial Abstracts, Vols. I, II, III; 1775-1777.

National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, Lineage Books, Vols. 135-139.

Encyclopedia American Biography, New Series, Vols. I and II, 1934. Gift of American Historical Society, Inc.

Bible records of Thomas & Elizabeth Owens; and Isaac Burneston Owens;

of Urath Randall Owings; of James Winchester Owings; of James Winchester Owings of Govanstown; of Disney Family; of Selby Family. Burial records of Owings Family on farm now owned by Mr. Ward, one mile north of Randallstown, Maryland. Gift of Mr. Ferdinand B. Focke.

First Settlers of Ye Plantations of Piscataway and Woodbridge Olde East New Jersey, 1664-1714. By Orra Eugene Monnette. Gift of Mr. Orra Eugene Monnette.

An account of Thomas Deye Owings of Kentucky. His iron foundry made bullets and cannon balls for the Battle of New Orleans; his house built from plans made by B. H. Latrobe; the circular stairway in the house was sent from Baltimore by ox-carts. Photostat copy of the original Muster Roll of Company "A" Maryland Militia, stationed at Fort Armisted, Sept. 1814. 103 officers and privates; many names unknown in former lists. Bible records of John Cockey Owings; bible owned by Mrs. R. G. Owings of Mt. Sterling, Kentucky, 1736 to date. Gift of Mr. Ferdinand B. Focke.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM B. MARYE,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

Your Committee reports that the past year found us again seriously handicapped through lack of funds for the purchase of desirable books and manuscripts, many of which have been offered and declined on account of our poverty. Our total expenditure for works of this character has been $80.65; and this has been made possible by the sale of duplicate volumes, weeded out in the process of cataloging. By the exercise of almost niggardly economy we have been enabled to keep within our budget allowance.

It is our pleasure to report, however, that the generosity of members and friends has made possible the addition of many valuable items to our collections. We have received 129 volumes, 116 pamphlets, 22 maps, 144 manuscript volumes, 178 pieces of miscellaneous manuscripts, 10 newspapers and 354 pieces of sheet music. Among the outstanding gifts were a collection of 164 drawings and plans, the work of John Davis, and B. H. Latrobe, presented by John Gilman Paul, Esq.; 40

account books of the firm of Robert and John Oliver, from H. Oliver Thompson, Esq. (in addition to a collection of miniatures and family portraits, enumerated elsewhere); 80 account books from Harford county, the gift of J. Alexis Shriver, Esq.; and a large collection of miscellaneous papers from Mrs. Francis T. Redwood.

No appropriation having been made by the Legislature, it was necessary to close the repair department; but Misses Cull and Woodward have generously given one day a week each for the urgently needed repairs to books and manuscripts.

As usual, the employees have given faithful and intelligent service to many seekers for historical and genealogical data. Much information has been given both by mail and phone; and a number of students from out of town colleges and universities have utilized the resources of the Society in the preparation of theses and other historical papers.

Respectfully submitted for the Committee,

L. H. Dielman,
Chairman.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The concluding instalment of Dr. Keidel's article, "Early Maryland Newspapers" has been unavoidably omitted and will appear in the June issue of the *Magazine.*

Cavaliers and Pioneers. Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800, by Nell Marion Nugent. (In five volumes) Richmond, 1934. The first volume of this monumental work, covering 767 pages, will undoubtedly prove of great value to genealogical investigators, as it appears to be admirably indexed and easy of consultation; when completed, it will make available practically all of the lands records of Virginia up to 1800. It is a gigantic undertaking and Mrs. Nugent is to be congratulated on the success of a fine piece of work. Our copy was presented to the Society by Miss Jane James Cook.

The Gist Family of South Carolina and its Maryland Antecedents, by Wilson Gee. Privately printed, Charlottesville, Va., 1934, pp. 101. A well written and comprehensive genealogy and history of this family, and a welcome addition to our collection.

Hunter. Wanted, data about Jonathan Hunter who lived in Baltimore during or near the Revolutionary period, and later removed to Virginia, near Harper's Ferry. Had a relative, John Hunter, believed to have been a "sheriff" of Baltimore. Miss Annie R. Hunter, 319 Maryland Building, Washington, D. C.

Baynard. Wanted, names of parents of Col. Nathan Baynard, of Queen Anne County, and also maiden name of his wife. Mrs. J. R. Grove, 1921 19th St., N. W. Washington, D. C.

Skinner. Wanted, all possible information regarding descendants of Robert Skinner of Calvert Co. (died 1686) and his wife Anne (Storer) Trueman. Miss Anne Bond Digges, 3415 Duvall Ave., Baltimore, Md.

Mrs. Edwin S. Martin of New Straitsville, O. calls attention to an error on page 162, fourth line from bottom of page. For Thorndale, read Thornville.

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ALEXANDER, CHARLES BUTLER (1923) .... Eccleston, Md.
AMES, JOSEPH S. (1910) ..... Charlcote Place, Guilford
ANDERSON, GEORGE M. (1933) ..... 831 Park Ave.
ANDREWS, MATTHEW PAGE (1911) ..... 849 Park Ave.
APPOLD, LEMUEL T. (1902) ..... 1010 Fidelity Bldg.
ARROWSMITH, REV. HAROLD N. (1924) .... 204 St. Martin's Rd., Guilford
ASH, MISS MOLLIE HOWARD (1924) ..... Elkton, Md.
ATKINSON, MATTHEW S., JR. (1925) ..... 37 South St.
AULD, MISS LAURA CATHERINE (1932) ... 10 W. Biddle St.
AUSTIN, WALTER F. (1934) ..... Easton, Md.

BADGER, MRS. A. P. (1927) ..... 1111 Edmondson Ave.
BAER, MICHAEL S. (1920) ..... 1001 N. Calvert St.
BAKER, WILLIAM G., JR. (1916) ..... Care of Baker, Watts & Co.
BALDWIN, CHAS. W., D. D. (1919) ..... 226 W. Lafayette Ave.
BALDWIN, MISS MARIA (1931) ..... 226 W. Lafayette Ave.
BALDWIN, MISS ROSA E. (1923) ..... 3951 Cloverdale Road
BALDWIN, MISS SARAH R. (1929) ..... 935 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
BALDWIN, SUMMERFIELD, JR. (1928) ..... 117 W. Baltimore St.
BALDWIN, WM. WOODWARD (1924) ..... 926 Cathedral St.
BANKS, MISS ELIZABETH (1926) ..... 2119 Bolton St.
BARKER, MRS. LEWELLYS F. (LILIAN HALSEY) (1931) ..... } 208 Stratford Rd.

BARRETT, HENRY C. (1902) ..... "The Severn"
BARROLL, L. WETHERED (1910) ..... 1412 Equitable Bldg.
BARROLL, MORRIS KEENE (1917) ..... Chestertown, Md.
BARTON, CARLYLE (1924) ..... 800 Baltimore Life Bldg.
BARTON, MRS. CARLYLE (Isabel R. T.) (1929) ..... Ruxton, Maryland
BARTON, RANDOLPH, JR. (1915) ..... 806 Mercantile Trust.
BAUGH, MRS. FREDERICK H. (1922) ..... 207 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park
BAUGHMAN, MRS. L. VICTOR (1931) ..... Frederick, Md.
BAYARD, MISS ELLEN HOWARD (1928) ..... 1208 St. Paul St.
BAYLIES, MISS SARAH STONE (1929) ..... 2934 N. Calvert St.
BEAN, MISS MARY CLOUD (1930) ..... 16 E. Biddle St.
BECK, HOWARD C. (1918) ..... 4001 Bateman Ave.
BEERS, WALTER W. (1924) ..... 3000 Reistertown, Rd.
BEEUWKES, C. JOHN (1924) ..... 1706 First National Bank.
BENNET, MISS SARAH E. (1930) ..... 2019 Eutaw Place.
BENSON, HARRY L. (1910) ..... 3106 Evergreen Ave., Hamilton
BENSON, MRS. WM. (1924) ..... Blackistone Apts.
BERKLEY, HENRY J., M. D. (1900) .... 1305 Park Ave.
BERKLEY, MRS. HENRY J. (1922) .....
BERNARD, RICHARD C. (1923) ..... 1312 John St.
BERRY, MRS. EDWARD W. (1931) ..... 19 Elmwood Rd., Roland Park
BEVAN, H. CROMWELL (1902) ..... 1317 Park Ave.
BIBBINS, MRS. A. B. ..... 2600 Maryland Ave.
BISHOP, WILLIAM R. (1916) ..... 12 E. 27th St.
BLACK, HARRY C., JR. (1920) ..... Fidelity Building.
BLACK, MRS. VAN LEAR (1921) ..... 1205 Eutaw Place
BLACK, WILMER (1935) ..... 1201 Garrett Bldg.
BLAKISTON, MRS. BUCHANAN (JESSIE GAREY BLACK) (1921) ..... Hurstleigh Ave.
BOGGS, THOMAS R., M. D. (1931) ..... 1013 N. Calvert St.
BOND, CARROLL T. (1916) ..... 3507 N. Charles St.
BOND, DUKE (1919) ..... Charles & Read Sts.
BOND, MISS ISABELLA M. (1918) ..... 1402 Bolton St.
BONSAL, LEIGH (1902) ..... 511 Calvert Building
BOONE, JAMES R. HERBERT (1934) ..... 765 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
BOONE, MRS. JAMES R. HERBERT (MURIEL H. WURTS-DUNDAS) (1934) ..... 765 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
BORDLEY, DR. JAMES, JR. (1914) ..... Charlecote Place
BOSLEY, CHARLES B. (1923) ..... 16 E. Lexington St.
BOSWORTH, MRS. C. W. (BEATRICE) (1929) ..... 2431 St. Paul St.
BOUCHET, CHARLES J. (1921) ..... 206 E. Biddle St.
BOULDEN, MRS. CHAS. NEWTON (1916) .... Carlton Apts.
BOUSE, JOHN H., M. D. (1926) ..... 317 S. Ann St.
BOUTON, MRS. EDWARD H. (1933) ..... Roland Park Apts.

BOWDOIN, MRS. HENRY J. (JULIA MORRIS) (1930) — Lawyers Hill, Relay, Md.
BOWE, DR. DUDLEY PLEASANTS (1927) — 2 W. Read St.
BOWEN, H. LEE, PH. D. (1934) — 3923 Cloverhill Rd.
BOWEN, JESSE N. (1916) — First Nat'l Bank
BOWIE, CLARENCE K. (1916) — Mercantile Trust Bldg.
BOWIE, MRS. RICHMOND IRVING (EFFIE GWYNN) (1934) — "Beechwood," Upper Marlboro, Md.
BOWLES, MRS. THOMAS H. (1931) — 5 Whitfield Rd., Guilford
BOYCE, FRED. G., JR. (1916) — 4102 Greenway, Guilford
BOYCE, HEYWARD E. (1912) — Maryland Trust Company
BOYER, REV. A., S. S. (1935) — St. Mary's Seminary, Paca St.
BOYKIN, MRS. M. IRWIN (1933) — Greenway Apts.
BRANDT, JACKSON (1935)
BRANDT, MRS. JACKSON (1935) — 1102 Mercantile Trust Bldg.
BRENT, MRS. DUNCAN K. (1922) — Ruxton, Md.
BRENT, MRS. ROBERT F. (1916) — The St. Paul Apts.
BREWER, WM. TREANOR (1928) — 4205 Penhurst Ave.
BROWN, ALEXANDER (1902) — "Mondawmin," Liberty Heights Ave.
BROWN, MRS. ELI VERNON (CASSANDRA LONG) (1933) — 1438 N. Broadway.
BROWN, W. MCCULLOH (1919) — 10 W. Hamilton St.
BROWNE, REV. LEWIS BEEMAN (1907) — St. John's Rectory, Frostburg, Md.
BROWNE, MARY N., M. D. (1919) — 1505 Park Ave.
BRUCE, HOWARD — Bartlett Hayward & Co., P. O. Box 1191
BRUCE, MRS. WM. CABELL (1920) — Ruxton, Md.
BRUNE, FRED W. (1929) — 2500 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
BRUNE, H. M. (1902) — First National Bank Bldg.
BUCHANAN, THOMAS GITTINGS (1917) — 116 Chamber of Commerce
BUCK, WALTER H. (1926) — 609 Union Trust Bldg.
BUCKEY, MRS. WM. G. (1931) — 1815 Park Ave.
BUCKINGHAM, E. G. (1927) — 1019 Winding Way, R. P.
BUCKINGHAM, MRS. WILLIAM A. (1920) — Washington Apts.
BURNS, F. HIGHLAND (1919) — 806 University Parkway
BUTTERFIELD, CLEMENT F. (1927) — 2723 N. Charles St.

CADWALADER, THOMAS F. (1934) — 217 W. Lanvale St.
CAIRNES, MISS LAURA J. (1923) — 4008 Roland Ave.
CAMERON, MRS. BRODNAX (JULIA DURYEA SPRIGG) (1934) — Bel Air, Md.
CANDLER, MISS OTIE SEYMOUR (1923) — 5515 Roland Ave.
CAREY, CHARLES H. (1919) — 2220 N. Charles St.
CAREY, JAMES (1913) — 2220 N. Charles St.
CARMINE, MISS MARGARET B. (1930) — Hopkins Apartments
CARR, MRS. CHEVER (1923) — 2615 Maryland Ave.
CARR, MRS. ROBERT H. (1929) — 653 University Pkwy.

CARROLL, DOUGLAS GORDON (1913).....Brooklandville, Md.
CARROLL, MISS M. GRACE (1923).....111 Ridgewood Rd., Roland Park.
CARTER, MISS SALLY RANDOLPH (1923)...204 W. Monument St.
CASSELL, W. BARRY (1934).....2002 Sulgrave Ave., Mt. Washington
CASTLE, MRS. GUY W. S. (1932).....Oxon Hill, Md.
CATHCART, MAXWELL (1922).....1408 Park Ave.
CHAMBERLAINE, REV. ALWARD (1925).....Centerville, Md.
CHAPMAN, JAMES W., JR. (1916).....214 Northway, Guilford
CHATARD, DR. J. ALBERT (1929).....1300 N. Calvert St.
* CHESNEY, CHARLES STEWART (1927)...1617 Linden Ave.
CHESNEY, MISS ROBERTA (1927).....1617 Linden Ave.
CHESNUT, MRS. W. CALVIN (1923).....Ridgewood Road, Roland Park
CHESNUT, W. CALVIN (1897).....Ridgewood Road, Roland Park
CLAGGETT, MRS. T. WEST (1925).....Homewood Apartments
CLARK, MISS ANNA E. B. (1914).....The St. Paul Apartments
CLARK, MISS BERTHA L. (1930).....118 Hawthorne Rd., Roland Park
CLARK, ERNEST J. (1931).....211 Highfield Rd.
CLARK, MRS. GAYLORD LEE (1928).....Stevenson, Md.
CLARK, WALTER L. (1921).....1914 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
CLEMSON, CHARLES O. (1928).....Westminster, Maryland
CLIFT, JOSIAH, JR. (1919).....212 W. Monument St.
CLOSE, PHILIP H. (1916).....Bel Air, Md.
COALE, JOSEPH M. (1930).....225 E. Redwood St.
COE, WARD B. (1920).....Fidelity Building
COHEN, MISS ELEANOR S. (1917).....The Latrobe
COHN, CHARLES M. (1919).....Lexington Bldg.
COHN, MRS. E. HERRMAN, (DORIS MASLIN) (1930).....Princess Anne, Maryland
COLE, MRS. HERBERT CLAIBORNE (1929)...100 University Pkwy. West.
COLE, J. WESLEY, M. D. (1931).....2202 Garrison Ave.
COLEMAN, WILLIAM C. (1916).....U. S. District Court, P. O. Bldg.
COLLENBERG, MRS. HENRY T. (1928).....3103 Clifton Ave.
COLSTON, GEORGE A. (1914).....403 Keyser Building
CONNOLLY, GERALD C. (1919).....1116 N. Eutaw St.
CONNOLLY, JAMES E., M. D. (1923).....1116 N. Eutaw St.
COOK, MISS JANE JAMES.....Stevenson, Md.
COOKE, MRS. MIRIAM BALDWIN (1930)....Waterbury, Md.
COONAN, EDWARD V. (1907).....121 W. Lafayette Ave.
COOPER, J. CROSSAN (1912).....Stock Exchange Building
CORIELL, DR. LEWIS (1927).....111 W. Monument St.
CORKRAN, MRS. BENJAMIN W. (1919)....Warrington Apts.
CORNER, GEO. W. (1917).....3902 Juniper Rd., Guilford
COTTEN, BRUCE (1912).....Mt. Washington
COTTON, MRS. FREDERICK J. (JANE BALDWIN) (1896).....Waterbury, Md.
COUDON, JOSEPH (1920).....Perryville, Md.
COUDON, JOSEPH of "H," (1934).....Perryville, Md.

CRAIN, MRS. BENNETT (1934).....4414 Underwood Rd.
CRANWELL, J. H. (1895).....1622 Park Ave.
CROKER, MRS. EDWARD J. (1922).....3403 University Place.
CROMWELL, MRS. LAMBERT F. (WINIFRED MCPHAIL) (1935).....5304 St. Albans Way.
CROMWELL, MRS. W. KENNEDY (1916)....Lake Roland
CRONIN, MRS. W. H. (1932).....Aberdeen, Md.
CROOKS, MISS ESTHER J. (1933).....Goucher College
CULL, MISS MABEL F. (1930).....1314 Bolton St.
CULLEN, DR. THOS. S. (1926).....20 E. Eager St.
CULVER, FRANCIS BARNUM (1910).....4709 Roland Ave.
CULVER, JOHN K. (1925).....Mt. Washington, Md.
CULVER, MRS. JOHN K. (1925).....Mt. Washington, Md.

DABNEY, DR. WILLIAM M. (1916).....Ruxton, Md.
DAINGERFIELD, MRS. P. B. KEY (1925)....4407 N. Charles St.
DALLAM, C. BRAXTON (1924).....4001 Greenway
DALSHEIMER, SIMON (1909).....The Lord Baltimore Press
DALTON, JOSEPH C. (1932).....Sparks, Maryland
DAMUTH, REV. WARREN K. (1923).....Thurmont, Md.
DARNALL, RICHARD BENNETT (1933).....Ruxton, Maryland.
DASHIELL, BENJAMIN J. (1914).....Towson, Maryland.
DASHIELL, MISS MARY LEEKE (1934).....Pheonix, Maryland.
DASHIELL, N. LEEKE, M. D. (1904).....2927 St. Paul St.
DASHIELL, MRS. NICHOLAS L. (1922).....2927 St. Paul St.
DAVES, JOHN COLLINS (1923).....136 W. Lanvale St.
DAVIS, MRS. ALLEN A. (1934).....34 E. Melrose Ave.
DAVIS, E. ASBURY (1924).....119-21 S. Howard St.
DAVIS, DR. J. STAIGE (1916).....215 Wendover Rd., Guilford
DAVIS, DR. W. W. (1921).....Box 724, Baltimore, Md.
DAVISON, MISS ELIZABETH T. (1925).....Cecil Apts.
DAVISON, MISS CAROLINA V. (1925).....Cecil Apts.
DAWKINS, WALTER I. (1902).....1119 Fidelity Bldg.
DAY, MISS MARY FORMAN (1907).....The Donald, 1523 22nd St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
DEFORD, MRS. ROBERT B. (DOROTHEA HOFFMAN) (1934).....Towson, Md.
DELAPLAINE, EDWARD S. (1920).....Frederick, Md.
DELL, THOS. MEDAIRY.....Homewood Apts.
DENISON, H. MARCUS (1923).....10 E. Read St.
DENMEAD, GARNER WOOD (1923).....227 St. Paul St.
DENNIS, MRS. JAMES T. (1923).....1002 N. Calvert St.
DENNIS, JAMES U. (1907).....2 E. Lexington St.
DENNIS, JOHN M. (1919).....Union Trust Bldg.
DENNIS, OREGON MILTON (1922).....New Amsterdam Bldg.
DENNIS, SAMUEL K. (1905).....Court House
DETRICK, MISS LILLIE (1919).....104 E. Biddle St.

DIELMAN, LOUIS H. (1905).....Peabody Institute
DIXON, JAMES (1926).....Easton, Maryland
DODSON, HERBERT K. (1909).....344 N. Charles St.
DOEBLER, VALENTINE S. (1922).....Greenway and St. Martin's Rd.
DONNELLY, EDWARD A. (1919).....213 N. Calvert St.
DOEHLER, EDWARD A. (1935).....1043 Aisquith Street
DORSEY, DR. CALEB, JR. (1927).....1659 W. North Ave.
DOUGHERTY, PHILLIP, PH. D. (1934).....2730 Maryland Ave.
DOWNES, MISS MARY LOUISE (1929).....729 N. Fulton Ave.
DOWNEY, DR. JESSE W., JR. (1929).....209 Hawthorne Rd.
DRYDEN, THOS. P. (1930).....6212 Blackburn Lane, Cedarcroft
DUFFY, EDWARD (1920).....138 W. Lanvale St.
DUFFY, MRS. ELEANOR BERNARD (1927)...110 W. North Ave.
DUFFY, HENRY (1916).....110 W. North Ave.
DUGAN, MISS MARY COALE (1919).....124 W. Lanvale St.
DUKE, W. BERNARD (1909).....1 Ridge Rd., Mt. Washington
DUKEHART, MORTON MCL. (1920).....2744 N. Calvert St.
DUKER, MRS. J. EDWARD (1923).....3904 N. Charles Street
DUNAHUE, MRS. WILBUR C. (1923).....1620 Bolton St.
DUNOTT, MRS. DANIEL Z. (1926).....1005 N. Calvert St.
DUNTON, WM. RUSH, JR., M. D. (1902)....Harlem Lodge, Catonsville, Md.
DUVALL, RICHARD M. (1902).....16 E. Lexington St.
DUVALL, SAMUEL GRAFTON (1925).....Frederick City, Md.

EARECKSON, F. LEIF (1928).....23 S. Hanover St.
EASTER, MRS. JAMES W. (ANITA T.) (1929) } Owings Mills, Md.
EDMONDSON, MRS. FRANK GORDON (1928) }
EDMONDSON, J. HOOPER (1928) } Roland Park Apts.
EDMONDSON, W. W. JR. }
EDMUNDS, JAMES R. (1933).....Glenarm, Md.
EDWARDS, MRS. CHARLES REID (1935)....106 Longwood Rd.
EGERTON, STUART (1919).....106 Elmhurst Road.
ELLICOTT, CHARLES E. (1918).....Melvale, Md.
ELLICOTT, WILLIAM M. (1929) } 714 St. Paul St.
ELLICOTT, MRS. WM. M. (1929) }
ELLINGER, ESTHER PARKER (1922).....12 W. 25th St.
EMMART, WM. W. (1924).....Union Trust Bldg.
EMORY, WILLIAM H. (1929).....1307 Bolton St.
ENGLAR, GEORGE MONROE (1928)..... Roland Park Apts.
EVANS, MRS. ELLA WARFIELD (1924).....109 Woodlawn Rd.
EVANS, Z. BOND, JR. (1934).....900 E. Preston St.

FALCONER, CHAS. E. (1915).....1630 Bolton St.
FENHAGEN, G. CORNER (1918).....325 N. Charles St.
FENHAGEN, JAMES C. (1927).....c/o Baltimore National Bank.
FENWICK, G. BERNARD (1929).....Glyndon, Md.

FICKUS, HENRY J. (1927).....4506 Mainfield Ave.
FINDLAY, MISS MARY P. B. (1930).....1510 Bolton St.
FINLEY, MRS. W. NORVILLE (1930).....903 Cathedral St.
FINNEY, MISS CATHERINE (1934).....937 St. Paul St.
FISHER, D. K. E. (1916).....1301 Park Ave.
FISHER, SAMUEL J. (1932).....Union Trust Bldg.
FISHER, DR. WM. A. (1924).....715 Park Ave.
FITZGERALD, CHARLES G. (1923).....3507 N. Charles St.
FITZGERALD, F. SCOTT (1934).....1307 Park Ave
*FITZHUGH, HENRY M., M. D., (1921).....Westminster, Md.
FLEMING, MISS ELIZABETH BOYD (1925)...Canterbury Hall Apartments
FLORENCE, NELLIE G. (1931).....Brentwood P. O., Md.
FOCKE, FERDINAND B. (1925).....1718 Bolton St.
FOOKS, MAJOR HERBERT C. (1921).....723 Munsey Building
FORBES, GEORGE (1924).....601 Maryland Trust Building
FOSTER, REUBEN (1921).....23 E. 22nd St.
FOWLER, MISS AMELIE DE PAU (1927)....Oak Place, Charles St. Ave.
FOWLER, LAURENCE HALL (1919).....347 N. Charles St.
FRANCE, JACOB (1926).....Calvert Building
FRANCE, MRS. JACOB (1926).....Catonsville, Md.
FRANCE, JOSEPH C. (1928).....Court Square Bldg.
FRANK, ELI (1923).....North and 4th Aves., Mt. Wash.
FRANKLIN, MRS. BENJAMIN (1921).....104 W. 39th St.
FREEMAN, DR. E. B. (1926).....807 Cathedral St.
FREEMAN, J. DOUGLAS (1914).....203 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park
FRENCH, H. FINDLAY (1929).....2303 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
FRENCH, DR. JOHN C. (1924).....416 Cedarcroft Road
FRICK, GEORGE ARNOLD (1914).....20 E. Lexington St.
FRICK, JOHN W. (1916).....28 W. Biddle St.
FRIEDENWALD, HARRY, M. D. (1919).....1212 Eutaw Place
FRIEDENWALD, JULIUS, M. D. (1919).....1013 N. Charles St.
FULFORD, ALEXANDER M. (1934).....Bel Air, Md.

GAITHER, CHARLES D. (1919).....Earl Court Apts.
GALE, WALTER R. (1921).....241 W. Lanvale St.
GALLUP, BRUCE H. (1933).....Towson, Md.
GAMBEL, MRS. THOS. B. (1915).....Homewood Apts.
GARCELON, MRS. HERBERT I. (1924).....Severna Park, Anne Arundel Co., Md.
GARRETT, JOHN W. (1898).....Garrett Building
GARRETT, MRS. ROBERT (1928).....
GARRETT, ROBERT (1898).....
} 4545 N. Charles St.
GEORGE, MRS. THOMAS STEVENS (ESTHER RIDGELY) (1934).....
} Towson, Md.
GIBBS, JOHN S., JR. (1914).....Lakeside, Md.
GIBBS, MRS. RUFUS M. (1924).....1209 St. Paul St.
GILL, MRS. ROBERT LEE (1924).....4708 Club Road

GILLIS, DR. ANDREW G. (1923).....1033 N. Calvert St.
GITTINGS, MISS VICTORIA (1920).....231 W. Preston St.
GLENN, JOHN, JR. (1915).....16 St. Paul St.
GLIDDEN, EDWARD HUGHES (1934).....Baltimore Life Bldg.
* DE GOEY, MISS VIRGINIA (1927).....The Sherwood
GOLDSBOROUGH, PHILLIPS LEE (1915).....839 W. University Pkwy.
GORDON, MRS. ALEXANDER H. (1916).....1009 N. Charles St.
GORDON, DOUGLAS H. (1928).....1009 N. Charles Street
GORMAN, MRS. GRACE NORRIS (1923).....Laurel, Md.
GORTER, JAMES P. (1902).....121 Taplow Rd.
GOUGH, MRS. I. PIKE (1916).....Hopkins Apts.
GRAHAM, ALBERT D. (1915).....First National Bank
GRAPE, ADRIAN H. (1919).....204 Clay St.
GREEN, ELMER S. (1934).....622 Coleraine Ave, Carroll Sta., City.
GREENFIELD, KENT ROBERTS, PH. D. (1934)..... } Tudor Arms Apt.
GREENWAY, MISS ELIZABETH W. (1917)...2322 N. Charles St.
GREENWAY, WILLIAM H. (1886).....2322 N. Charles St.
GREGG, MAURICE (1886).....719 N. Charles St.
GRIFFITH, RICHARD R. (1933).....Tome Institute.
GRISWOLD, B. HOWELL, JR. (1913).....Alex. Brown & Sons

HALL, MISS ADELPHINE (1928).....5304 Springlake Way
HALL, CARY D., JR. (1919).....706 Fidelity Bldg.
HALL, MISS ROSABEL E. (1928).....2406 Kenoak Ave., Mt. Washington
HALL, DR. WILLIAM S. (1922).....215 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park
HALSEY, R. T. HAINES (1929).....Huntington, N. Y.
HAMBLETON, MRS. F. S. (1907).....Hambledune, Lutherville, Md.
HAMMAN, MRS. LOUIS (1923).....4410 Norwood Rd., Guilford
HAMMOND, EDWARD (1923).....140 W. Lanvale St.
HAMMOND, EDWARD HOPKINS (1923).....Union Trust Bldg.
HANCOCK, JAMES E. (1907).....2122 St. Paul St.
HANDLEY, DANIEL T. (1927).....1331 Mt. Royal Ave.
HARDINGE, HAROLD, JR. (1932).....2450 Eutaw Pl.
HARDY, MRS. GEO E. (KATHERINE CORIELL) (1929)..... } 518 Cathedral St.
HARLAN, HENRY D., LL. D. (1894).....Fidelity Building
HARLAN, MRS. HENRY D. (1928).....4909 Falls Rd.
HARPER, GEORGE HOUSTON (1921).....3405 Greenway
HARRIS, MISS HELEN NICHOLSON (1928)..St. Paul Apts.
HARRIS, NORRIS (1927)..... } 2906 Alameda Blvd.
HARRIS, MRS. NORRIS (1926)..... }
HARRIS, W. HALL (1883).....Title Building
HARRIS, MRS. W. HALL (ALICE PATTERSON) (1919)..... } 11 East Chase St.
HARRISON, DR. EDMUND P. (1934).....2 East 33rd St.
HARRISON, GEORGE (1915).....2738 N. Charles St.

HARRISON, J. EDWARD (1915).....1714 Linden Ave.
HARRISON, MRS. JOHN W. (1919).....c/o C. H. Medcalfe, Sudlersville, Md.
HARRISON, MISS REBEKAH (1919).....Ellicott City, Md.
HART, ROBERT S. (1923).....101 W. Monument St.
HAYDEN, MRS. LEWIS M. (1927).....2010 Park Ave.
HAYDON, F. STANSBURY (1930).....
HAYDON, MRS. W. H. (ELLEN PAGE) (1930).....
} Riderwood, Md.
HAYES, ROBERT F., JR. (1923).....3526 Roland Ave.
HAYWARD, F. SIDNEY (1897).....Harwood Ave., Govans, Md.
HELFENSTEIN, REV. EDWARD T. (1920)....409 N. Charles St.
HENDERSON, CHARLES F. (1919).....Continental Trust Bldg.
HENDERSON, GEORGE (1934).....Cumberland, Md.
HENDERSON, MRS. LOUISA P. (1919).....Cumberland, Md.
HENDERSON, NEWTON R. (1925).....4018 Bateman Ave.
HENRY, DANIEL M. (1923).....Easton, Maryland
HENRY, MRS. M. LYNN (1928).....Linthicum Heights, Md.
HENRY, MRS. ROBERTA B. (1914).....“Myrtle Grove,” Easton, Md.
HERRING, THOMAS R. (1919).....10 South St.
HEWES, M. WARNER (1922).....2315 Maryland Ave.
HICKS, T. RUSSELL (1929).....106 W. Madison St.
HILKEN, H. G. (1889).....4 Bishop’s Road, Guilford
HILL, MRS. HOWARD C. (1934).....5018 Norwood Ave.
HILL, JOHN PHILIP (1899).....Baltimore Trust Bldg.
HILLEGEIST, W. M. (1934).....227 East North Ave.
HILLES, MRS. WILLIAM S. (1934).....c/o Colonial Trust Co.
HINES, REV. CHARLES J. (1922).....27 S. Ellwood Ave.
HINKLEY, JOHN (1900).....215 N. Charles St.
HISKY, THOS. FOLEY (1888).....Maple Ave., Catonsville
HITCHCOCK, ELLA SPRAGUE (1919).....219 City Hall
HODSON, EUGENE W. (1916).....Care of Thomas & Thompson
HOEN, ALFRED T. (1934).....10 Midvale Road
HOFF, MRS. VIOLET B. (1924).....307 Southway, Guilford, Balto.
HOGAN, DR. JOHN F. (1929).....7 East Preston St.
HOLBEINE, SISTER M. CLOTILDE (1933)....Mt. St. Agnes School, Mt. Washington.
HOLDCRAFT, MEHRLING (1930).....204 N. Payson St.
HOLLAND, MISS EUGENIA (1934).....4713 Roland Ave.
HOLLAND, MRS. WILLIAM W. (1929).....4713 Roland Ave.
HOLLANDER, JACOB H., PH. D. (1895).....1802 Eutaw Place
HOLLY, MISS NETTA E. (1934).....Havre de Grace, Md.
HOLLYDAY, MISS CAROLINE R. (1926)....3333 N. Charles St.
*HOLLYDAY, HENRY (1929).....
HOLLYDAY, RICHARD C. (1929).....
} Easton, Md.
HOLT, W. STULL, PH. D. (1934).....205 Cedarcroft Rd.
HOMER, MRS. JANE ABELL (1909).....Riderwood, Md.
HOOFF, MISS MARY STABLER (1922).....1205 Linden Ave.
HOOPES, DR. FANNIE E. (1927).....Homewood Apts.

HOPKINS, MRS. EUGENE (1932).....Temple Court Apts.
HOPKINS, HENRY POWELL (1933).....11 E. Mulberry St.
HOPKINS, MRS. MABEL FORD (1924).....2 Wyndhurst Ave.
HOPPER, CHARLES COX (1930).....1405 John St.
HOUGH, MISS ANNE EDMONDSON (1928)...212 Lambeth Rd., Guilford
HOWARD, CHARLES MCHENRY (1902).....901 St. Paul St.
HOWARD, CHARLES MORRIS (1907).....1010 Munsey Bldg.
HOWARD, J. SPENCE (1922).....20 E. Lexington St.
HOWARD, JOHN D. (1917).....209 W. Monument St.
HOWARD, MISS JULIA MCHENRY (1927)
HOWARD, MISS MAY (1927)..... } 901 St. Paul St.
* HOWARD, WM. ROSS (1916).....Guilford Ave. & Pleasant St.
HOWELL, WILLIAM R., PH. D. (1929).....402 Washington Ave., Chestertown, Md.
HUBBARD, THOMAS F. (1928).....3324 Ellerslie Ave.
HUBBARD, WILBUR W. (1915).....Chestertown, Md.
HUBNER, WILLIAM R. (1920).....Safe Deposit and Trust Co.
HUGHES, THOMAS (1886).....1018 Cathedral St.
HURST, MRS. W. D. (1934).....Sparks, Md.
HUTCHINS, MISS KATHERINE K. (1928)...142 W. Lanvale St.
HYDE, ENOCH PRATT (1906).....Washington Apartments

IGLEHART, MRS. C. IREDELL (1927).....914 N. Charles St.
* IGLEHART, IREDELL W. (1916).....17 South St.
IGLEHART, MISS M. LUCKETT (1931).....218 Laurens St.
IJAMS, MISS ELLA (1933).....3702 Mohawk Ave.
IJAMS, MRS. GEORGE W. (1913).....313 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park
INGLE, MISS ELIZA (1934).....1710 Park Ave.
INGLE, WILLIAM (1909).....1710 Park Ave.
IRISH, FREDERIC J. (1935).....4207 Underwood Road
ISAACS, MISS BERTHA P. (1934)....."Maplewood," Elk Ridge, Md.
ISRAEL, MISS ELLEN C. (1934).....701 Cathedral St.

JACKSON, MRS. GEORGE S. (1910).....Garrison, Md.
JACKSON, MRS. HOWARD W. (1934).....St. Dunstans Rd. & Springlake Way
JACOBS, MRS. HENRY BARTON (1916).....11 W. Mt. Vernon Place
JACOBS, HENRY BARTON, M. D. (1903)....11 W. Mt. Vernon Place
JAMES, MAGILL (1934).....3434 University Place.
JAMES, NORMAN (1903).....300 Goodwood Gardens, R. P.
JANNEY, STUART S. (1924).....1635 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
JARMAN, MISS MARTHA F. (1934).....Princess Anne, Md.
JEFFERY, MRS. ELMORE BERRY (1933).....307 Somerset Rd.
JENCKS, MRS. FRANCIS M. (1924).....1 W. Mt. Vernon Place
JENKINS, JAMES IRDELL (1934).....University Club
JENKINS, M. ERNEST (1924).....Lake Ave., Roland Park, P. O.
JOHNSON, MRS. EDWARD M. (1924).....843 University Pkwy.
JOHNSTON, MRS. LOLA E. (1929).....105 Charlcote Rd.
JOHNSTONE, MISS EMMA E. (1910).....Greenway Apts.

JONES, ARTHUR LAFAYETTE (1911).....1516 Bolton St.
JONES, DR. ELISHA (1902).....
JONES, MISS RUTH (1932)..... } 25 Penna Ave., Towson, Md.
JOYCE, TEMPLE N. (1927).....Joyce Sta., Md.
JUDIK, MRS. J. HENRY (1918).....3906 St. Paul St.

KEATING, MRS. ARTHUR B. (1932)
(LOUISE OGLE BEALL)..... } Latrobe Apartments
KEECH, MRS. CAROLINA PAGON (1924)....203 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park
KEECH, EDW. P., JR. (1909).....900-901 Maryland Trust Building
KELLY, HOWARD A., M. D. (1919).....1418 Eutaw Place.
KEYS, MISS JANE G. (1905).....208 E. Lanvale St.
KEYSER, H. IRVINE, 2ND (1928).....4103 St. Paul Street
KEYSER, W. IRVINE (1917).....206-7 Keyser Bldg.
KEYSER, WILLIAM, JR. (1925).....Keyser Building
KIRBY, JACK IGNATIUS CARROLL (1932)...Mt. Washington.
KIRKMAN, WALTER N. (1927).....Rolling Road, Catonsville
KNAPP, CHARLES H. (1916).....1418 Fidelity Building
KNOX, J. H. MASON, JR., M. D. (1909)....211 Wendover Road, Guilford
KOPPELMAN, WALTER (1927).....102 Millbrook Rd.

LANAHAN, MRS. WILLIAM WALLACE
(ELEANOR WILLIAMS) (1929)..... } Long Crandon, Towson, Md.
LANKFORD, H. FILLMORE (1893)..... Princess Anne, Md.
LATROBE, FERDINAND C. (1932).....3921 Canterbury Rd.
LEACH, MISS MARY CLARA (1924).....4014 Edmondson Ave.
LEAKIN, MARGARET DOBBIN (1920).....Lake Roland, Md.
LEAKIN, MISS SUSAN DOBBIN (1923).....103 W. Monument St.
LEE, H. H. M. (1923).....1930 Mt. Royal Terrace
LEE, JOHN L. G. (1916).....511 Calvert Building
LEGG, JOHN C., JR. (1916).....110 E. Redwood St.
LEHMAYER, MARTIN (1927).....Fidelity Building
LEIDY, MRS. C. FONTAINE-MAURY
(MARGARET) (1929)..... } "Hampton," Towson, Md.
LEUPOLD, MRS. RICHARD J. (1934).....223 E. Preston St.
LEVY, OSCAR G. (1928).....423 N. Fulton Ave.
LEVY, WILLIAM B. (1909).....Fidelity Building
LINVILLE, CHARLES H. (1918).....4003 Keswick Rd.
LITTIG, MRS. JOHN M. (1919).....Cambridge Apartments
LLOYD, MRS. CHARLES HOWARD (1928)....Easton, Md.
LOCKARD, G. CARROLL, M. D. (1919).....2925 N. Charles St.
LOCKARD, MRS. G. CARROLL (1930).....2925 N. Charles St.
LONG, MRS. BRECKENRIDGE (1931).....Laurel, Md.
LONG, COL. JOHN D. (1931).....Garden Apts.
LORD, MRS. J. WALTER (1923).....44 Roland Court
LORD, MRS. J. WILLIAMS (1919).....1011 N. Charles St.
LOWNDES, EDWARD BRECKINRIDGE (1933)..Calvert Bldg.

LOWNDES, W. BLADEN (1921).....Fidelity Trust Company
LYON, MISS GRACE (1923).....223 Wendover Rd.

MACBRIDE, MRS ARCHIBALD E. (1935)....Garden Apts.
MCCARDELL, LEE (1929).....10 Longwood Rd.
MCCLEAVE, R. HUGH (1928).....Cumberland, Maryland
MCCOLGAN, CHARLES C. (1916).....2710 N. Calvert St.
MCCOLGAN, EDWARD (1921).....200 N. Beechwood Ave.
MCCORMICK, R. A. (1914).....3807 Fenchurch Road
MCCORMICK-GOODHART, LEANDER (1928)..."Langley Park," Hyattsville, Md.
MCCULLOGH, MRS. DUNCAN (1932).....Glencoe, Md.
MCCURLEY, MISS ELINOR F. (1934).....1812 Thornbury Rd., Mt. Washington
MACGILL, JAMES (1934).....Atholton, Md.
MACHEN, ARTHUR W. (1917).....1109 Calvert Bldg.
MCHENRY, JOHN (1929).....Owings Mills, Md.
MCILVAIN, MISS ELIZABETH GRANT (1917).908 St. Paul St.
MCINTYRE, EDWARD J. (1934).....1213 N. Luzerne Ave.
MACKALL, R. MCGILL (1928).....2423 N. Forest Park Ave.
MCKIM, S. S. (1902).....Savings Bank of Baltimore
MCLANAHAN, MRS. AUSTIN (ROMAINE LEMOYNE) (1931)..... } Greenspring & Woodlawn Aves.
MCLANE, ALLAN (1894).....Garrison, Md.
MCLANE, MISS ELIZABETH C. (1919).....Hotel Stafford
MACLEAN, DR. ANGUS L. (1933).....1201 N. Calvert St.
MCWILLIAMS, MISS MARY MATHEWS (1929) ..... } 1732 N. Calvert St.
MAGRUDER, MISS LOUISE E. (1929).....132 Charles St., Annapolis, Md.
MAINSTER, MISS JOSEPHINE T. (1933)...Forest Park High School.
MALOY, WILLIAM MILNES (1911).....308 Overhill Rd.
MANNING, JAMES R. (1928).....Briarfield, Poplar Hill Road
MARBURG, THEODORE (1931).....14 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
MARBURY, WILLIAM L. (1887).....700 Maryland Trust Building
MARINE, MISS HARRIET P. (1915).....Box 40, Druid Station, Baltimore
MARKELL, MRS. FRANCIS H. (1923).....Frederick City, Md.
MARRIOTT, MRS. TELFAIR W. (1919).....1001 St. Paul St.
MARSHALL, THOMAS B. (1928).....850 University Pkwy.
MARSTON, JAMES G., M. D. (1934').....516 Cathedral St.
MARYE, WILLIAM B. (1911).....207 E. Preston St.
MASSEY, MR. & MRS. J. ALLAN (1923)...1514 33rd St.
MASSEY, MISS M. E. (1925).....105 Maple Ave., Chestertown, Md.
MATHER, L. B. (1922).....315 E. 22nd St.
MATHEWS, EDWARD B., PH. D. (1905)....Johns Hopkins University
MATTHEWS, MRS. HENRY C. (1927).....1302 St. Paul Street
MATTHEWS, J. MARSH (1926).....Fidelity Building
MAYNADIER, THOMAS MURRAY (1919).....Walbert Apts.
MAYO, DR. R. W. B. (1927).....4300 Wickford Rd.
* MEARES, REV. ARMAND DEROSSET (1932)..... } 4200 Penhurst Ave.

MEARS, MRS. ADELBERT WARREN (1930)...3102 Hilton St.
MENCKEN, AUGUST (1928).....1524 Hollins Street
MEYER, MISS JESSIE H. (1934).....Ruxton, Md.
MEYER, MRS. ROBERT B. (1924).....3047 Brighton St.
MICKLE, MRS. MARBURY (1923).....The Sherwood Hotel
* MILHOLLAND, FRANCIS X. (1925).....B. & O. Building
MILLER, CHARLES R. (1916).....2200 Roslyn Ave.
MILLER, EDGAR G., JR. (1916).....808 Fidelity Building
* MILLER, PAUL H. (1918).....808 Fidelity Building
MILLER, MRS. WARREN D. (1924).....160 W. Washington St., Hagerstown, Md.
MILLER, MRS. WILLIAM E. (1922).....7 Beechdale Rd., Roland Park
MINTZ, JULIUS (1924).....400 Equitable Building
MITCHELL, MRS. ROBERT L. (1921).....2112 Maryland Ave.
MOORE, MRS. JOSEPH EARLE (1933) (GRACE BARCLAY).....4422 Underwood Rd.
MOORE, MISS OLIVE (1934).....1517 Park Ave.
MORGAN, ZACHARIAH R., M. D. (1931)....708 Reservoir St.
MORRISON, MRS. HARRY (1935).....Woodbrook, Md.
MORTON, SAMUEL P., JR. (1934).....Ambassador Apts.
MULLIKIN, KENT R. (1933).....1511 Guilford Ave.
MULLIN, MISS ELIZABETH LESTER (1916)..1501 Park Ave.
MURDOCK, MISS MILDRED LAWS (1926)....1527 Bolton St.
MURRAY, MISS CHARLOTTE (1927).....21 E. Eager St.
MURRAY, MISS MERCEDES M. (1926).....1309 W. 42nd St.
MUTH, MISS CECELIA M. (1933).....Catonsville, Md.

NELLIGAN, JOHN J. (1907).....Safe Deposit and Trust Co.
NELSON, J. ARTHUR (1921).....227 St. Paul St.
* NEWCOMBER, WALDO (1902).....105 W. Monument St.
NICHOLS, FIRMADGE KING, M. D. (1929)...4018 Liberty Heights Ave.
NICOLAI, CHARLES D. (1916).....3809 Sequoia Ave.
NIMMO, MRS. NANNIE BALL (1920).....3207 N. Calvert St.
NOLTING, WILLIAM G. (1919).....11 E. Chase St.
NORRIS, WALTER B. (1924).....Wardour, Annapolis, Md.
* NORWOOD, FRANK C. (1921).....Frederick, Md.
NYBURG, SIDNEY L. (1921).....1504 Citizens National Bank Building

OBER, GUSTAVUS, JR. (1914).....Torch Hill, Lutherville, Md.
OFFUTT, T. SCOTT (1908).....Towson, Md.
OLD, FRANCIS E., JR. (1931).....755 Cator Ave.
OLIVER, JOHN R., M. D. (1919).....The Latrobe
OLIVIER, STUART (1913).....Standard Oil Building
* OLSON, MRS. ALBERT F. (1925).....3925 Cedar Ave., Roland Park
OPPENHEIMER, REUBEN (1924).....626 Equitable Building
ORNDORFF, JAMES RIDGELY (1929).....5703 Berkley Ave., Mt. Washington
OWENS, ALBERT S. J. (1914).....Court House

Owens, Edward B., Jr. (1927).....420 Cedarcroft Road
Owings, Dr. Edward R. (1926).....1733 Linden Ave.

Paca, John P., Jr. (1931).....Title Bldg.
Page, Charles Greenleaf (1931).....Calvert Court Apts.
Page, Mrs. James (1929).....Homewood Apts.
Page, Wm. C. (1912).....Calvert Bank
Paine, James R. (1933).....18 E. Baltimore St.
Parke, Francis Neal (1910).....Westminster, Md.
Parkhurst, Harry E. (1924).....Gunther Building
Parks, Miss Ida M. (1922).....11 W. Saratoga St.
Parran, Mrs. Frank J. (1908).....144 W. Lanvale St.
Parran, Dalrymple (1926).....1708 N. Calvert St.
Passano, Mrs. Edward B. (1935).....York Road and Susquehanna Ave.
Patton, Mrs. James H. (1913).....622 W. University Parkway
Paul, Mrs. D'Arcy (1909).....Blythewood Rd., Roland Pk. P. O.
Paul, John Gilman D'Arcy (1927)....Blythewood Road, Roland Park
Pennington, Mrs. Lee Roberts (1932)...16 Taylor St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Perine, Mrs. George Corbin (1916).....1124 Cathedral St.
Perine, Washington (1917).....607 Cathedral St.
Peter, Robert B. (1916).....Rockville, Md.
Pitts, Miss Mary B. (1927).....100 University Pkwy., W.
Pitts, Tilghman G. (1924).....129 E. Redwood St.
Pleasants, J. Hall, M. D. (1898).....201 Longwood Road, Roland Park
* Pleasants, Skipwith Wilmer (1933)..201 Longwood Rd.
Poe, Edgar Allan (1929).....U. S. F. & G. Building
Pollitt, L. Irving (1916).....1715 Park Place
Porter, Miss Bessie (1926).....Homewood Apts.
Porter, Frank Gibson, D. D. (1926)....3609 Grantley Rd.
Post, A. H. S. (1916).....Mercantile Trust and Deposit Co.
Powell, Henry Fletcher (1923).....309 W. Lanvale St.
Powell, Rev. Noble C. (1934).....16 E. Eager St.
Preston, Alexander (1922).....Munsey Building
Preston, James H. (1898).....916 Munsey Building
Price, Mrs. Juliet Hammond (1924)....Sherwood Hotel.
Purdum, Mrs. Bradley K. (1923).....Hamilton, Md.
Purdum, Frank C. (1922).....Hamilton, Md.

Radcliffe, George L., Ph. D. (1908).....Fidelity Building
Ramey, Mrs. Mary E. W. (1922).....9 E. Franklin St.
Randall, Blanchard (1902).....200 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
Randall, Mrs. Blanchard (1919)..... 8 W. Mt. Vernon Place
Randall, Daniel R. (1917).....712 Keyser Bldg.
* Ray, Enos (1922).....Chillum, Prince George Co., Md.
* Reese, Henry F. (1922).....3300 Liberty Heights Ave.
Requardt, John M. (1926).....
Requardt, Mrs. John M. (1926)..... } 101 Wendover Rd.

REVELL, EDWARD J. W. (1916).....1308-09 Fidelity Bldg.
RHODE, W. ALLEN (1931).....Catonsville, Md.
RIANHARD, THOMAS McM. (1929).....1008 Winding Way, Poplar Hill, Roland Park
RICH, EDWARD N. (1916).....Union Trust Building
RICH, MRS. EDWARD L. (1926).....Catonsville, Md.
RICKER, MRS. ROGER R. (1927).....3011 Wayne Ave.
RIDGELY, MISS ELIZA (1893).....825 Park Ave.
RIDGELY, JOHN, JR. (1916).....Towson, Md.
RIELY, MRS. COMPTON (1934).....2207 St. Paul St.
RIEMAN, MRS. CHARLES ELLET (1909)...10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
RIEMAN, CHARLES ELLET (1898).....10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
RIGGS, MISS ANNIE SMITH (1934).....Brookeville, Md.
RIGGS, CLINTON L. (1907).....606 Cathedral St.
RIGGS, LAWRASON (1894).....632 Equitable Building
RISACHER, REV. JOHN A., S. J. (1934)....Loyola College, Evergreen
RITCHIE, ALBERT C. (1904).....Baltimore Trust Bldg.
ROACH, ERWIN R. (1934).....611 Park Ave.
ROBERTSON, GEO. S. (1921).....Park Bank Building
ROBINSON, MRS. HARRY LYON, JR. (1928)..Medora Rd., Linthicum Hghts.. Md.
ROBINSON, J. BEN, D. D. S. (1928).....Medical Arts Bldg.
ROBINSON, RALPH (1894).....Maryland Trust Bldg.
ROBINSON, RALPH J. (1934).....Baltimore Trust Bldg.
ROGERS, MRS. WM. F. (1927).....5308 Stonington Ave., Howard Park
ROHRER, C. W. G., M. D. (1910).....2814 Ailsa Ave.
ROLLINS, THORNTON (1911).....746 W. Fayette St.
ROSE, DOUGLAS H. (1898).....10 South St.
ROUSE, JOHN G. (1928).....Maryland Casualty Company Cedar Ave. and 40th St.
ROUZER, E. McCLURE (1920).....Calvert Bldg.
ROWE, MISS GEORGIA M. (1925).....2321 N. Calvert St.
ROWLAND, SAMUEL C. (1923).....Calvert Bldg.
ROZEL, RICHARD JULIAN (1934).....1415 Bolton St.
RUMSEY, CHARLES L., M. D. (1919).....812 Park Ave.

SADTLER, MISS FLORENCE P. (1925).....2605 N. Charles St.
SANFORD, JOHN L. (1916).....2729 N. Charles St.
SAPPINGTON, MRS. G. RIDGELY (1934)....606 W. 40th St.
SAUNDERS, MISS MARY WALTON (1928)...Homewood Apts.
SCARBOROUGH, KATHERINE (1931).....Preston Apts.
SCHOENFIELD, MRS. FREDERICK (1928) (VIRGINIA BERKLEY BOWIE)
SCOTT, MRS. WILLIAM DODDS (1929) (KATHERINE FAIRFAX KIMBERLY)... Fort Eustis, Va.
SEEMAN, FREDERICK C. (1919).....110 Hopkins Place
SEITZ, MRS. S. CLAYTON (1934).....Towson, Md.
SELFE, MRS. LEE WEBSTER (1934).....Salisbury, Md.

SEMMES, MISS FRANCES C. (1929).....222 W. Lanvale St.
SEMMES, JOHN E. JR. (1916).....Citizens National Bank Bldg.
SEMMES, RAPHAEL (1923).....Latrobe Apts.
SHACKELFORD, WM. T. (1926).....Earl Court Apts.
SHAMER, MAURICE EMORY (1924).....3300 W. North Ave.
SHARRETTS, DOUGLAS N. (1934).....4209 Maine Ave.
SHAW, JOHN K., JR. (1927).....Eccleston Station, Md.
SHERWOOD, WATSON E. (1931).....2818 St. Paul St.
SHIPLEY, GEORGE (1924).....The Cecil
SHIPLEY, MRS. MARVIN R. (1927).....Harman's, Md.
SHOEMAKER, MRS. EDWARD (1919).....1031 N. Calvert St.
SHOWACRE, MISS ELIZABETH B. (1932)....4105 Liberty Heights Ave.
SHRIVER, ALFRED JENKINS (1921).....University Club.
SHURE, AUSTIN F. (1932).....2107 Elsinor Ave.
SILL, MRS. HOWARD (1928).....12 E. Pleasant St.
SIOUSSAT, MRS. ANNIE LEAKIN (1891)....1000 N. Charles St.
SKEEN, JOHN H. (1927).....First National Bank Bldg.
SKINNER, M. E. (1897).....1103 Fidelity Bldg.
SKIRVEN, PERCY G. (1914).....2738 Reisterstown Rd.
SLOCUM, MRS. GEO. WASHINGTON (1925)..1208 N. Calvert St.
SMITH, CARRIE W., M. D. (1931).....Reistertown, Md.
SMITH, MRS. HENRY EDMOND (1923).....1500 Park Ave.
SMITH, HENRY LEE, M. D. (1931).....4313 St. Paul St.
SMITH, MRS. JAMES S. (1928).....Annapolis Blvd., Brooklyn, Md.
SMITH, MISS MARGARET M. (1919).....1329 Park Ave.
* SMITH, THOMAS MARSHALL (1919)....Baltimore Club.
SNOW, MRS. HENRY (MAUD BIRNIE CARY) (1925)..... } 4824 Roland Avenue
SOLLERS, BASIL (1933).....605 Lennox St.
SOLTER, GEORGE A. (1925).....Court House, City.
SOPER, HON. MORRIS A. (1917).....102 W. 39th St.
SPEARE, ALMUS REED (1923).....Rockville, Md.
SPEER, J. RAMSEY (1931).....Trappe, Talbot Co., Md.
SPILKER, MISS JULIA E. (1933).....Northway Apts.
SPRIGG, JAMES CRESAP (1932).....Allston Apts.
SPRIGG, WM. MERCER, M. D. (1933).....35 Quincy St., Chevy Chase, Md.
STAMP, MISS ADELE HAGNER (1929).....Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
STARR, EDWARD JAMES (1928).....2403 Chelsea Terrace
STAUB, JOHN T. (1924)..... { Care United R. W. & Elec. Co., Court Square Bldg.
STAUB, WILLIAM H. (1919).....604 Somerset Rd., Roland Park
STEEL, MISS MARGARET A. (1917).....215 N. Church St., Gilroy, Calif.
STEELE, MISS ROSA (1925).....11 East Chase St.
* STEHMAN, MRS. CATHERINE BIBB (1933)..3333 N. Charles St.
STEIN, CHAS. F. (1905).....S. E. Cor. Courtland & Saratoga Sts.
STEINMULLER, THEODORE A. (1924).....221 E. Baltimore St.
STETTINIUS, MRS. WM. C. (1929).....500 Somerset Rd.

STEUART, JAMES E. (1919).....Title Building
STEUART, LAMAR HOLLYDAY (1928).....1311 John Street
STEUART, RICHARD D. (1919).....Preston Apartments
STEUART, MISS SUSAN ELLIOTT (1929)....Roland Ave., Roland Park
STICK, MRS. GORDON M. F. (ANNA HOWARD FITCHETT) (1930)..... } Glen Arm, Maryland
STOCKBRIDGE, HENRY, 3D (1917) .....Ten Hills, Md.
STORK, WM. B., LT. U. S. NAVY, RET. (1928) ..... } 620 W. University Pkwy.
STORM, WILLIAM M. (1926).....Frederick, Md.
STOW, JOHN CARROLL (1933).....4001 N. Charles St.
STRAN, MRS. THOMAS P. (1929) (CAROLINE S. BANSEMER) } Ambassador Apts.
STUART, MISS SARAH ELIZABETH (1915)...Chestertown, Md.
SULLIVAN, MRS. FELIX R., JR. (1922)....1605 Park Ave.
SUMMERS, CLINTON (1916).....1 Bedford Place, Guilford
SUPPLEE, J. FRANK, JR. (1929).....Equitable Bldg.
SUTTON, MRS. EBEN (1929).....Hotel Belvedere.
SUTTON, HOWARD C. (1934).....6109 Fair Oaks Ave.
SWANN, SHERLOCK (1928).....608 W. Belvedere Ave.
SWEENY, MRS. LOUIS F.....2844 N. Calvert St.
SYMINGTON, JOHN F. (1924).....1407 Philpot St.

TABLER, DR. H. E. (1926).....Box 2, Hancock, Md.
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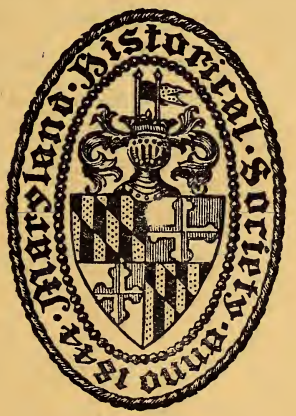

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VOL. XXX. JUNE, 1935. No. 2.

FRANCIS JAMES JACKSON AND NEWSPAPER PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES, 1809-1810.

By JOSEPHINE FISHER.

In September 1809, the new British Minister, Francis James Jackson, arrived in the United States. His predecessor, Erskine, had been recalled because the British government considered that he had disobeyed his instructions in making an agreement with the American government for the settlement of the difficulties which had arisen between the two countries as a result of the war between Great Britain and France. The agreement had been disavowed by the British government.

In a despatch to Canning, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, marked "separate and secret" and sent soon after his arrival, Jackson said:

Perceiving the extreme activity of the Party in this Country which is hostile to His Majesty's interest, and the unremitting zeal with which in particular they employ the Press as a Means of transfusing their ideas and corrupting the Publick Mind, I deem it to be a part of my Duty to endeavor to counteract the otherwise inevitable effect of their Measures. I shall therefore try to get one or more able Writers to exert themselves in favor

This article is part of a dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Bryn Mawr College by Josephine Fisher in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The completed dissertation is on file in the Bryn Mawr College Library.

of the British cause. The price of this sort of Labor, is not, I am told, very high here, and three or four hundred pounds will go a great way in obtaining the assistance of the Newspaper and Pamphlet Writers.[1]

In carrying out this duty Jackson was able to combine the attempt to frustrate the plans of the anti-British party with the giving of aid to a friend in need. Immediately upon his arrival in Washington, he had received a letter signed "J. R." in which the writer informed him that he was encouraged to write because he had learned of

the probability of your being able to offer me some employment connected with your Mission, and the long intimacy which has subsisted between your Excellency's family and mine emboldens me in the hope that for their sakes you will be willing to exert yourself on my behalf. I take it for granted that my brother acquainted your Excellency with the leading particulars of my situation; and I am aware that you may probably have thence formed opinions and received impressions not much in my favor.[2]

But, the writer continued, he trusted that the good opinion of his character held by some of the most reputable men of New York would prove to Jackson that "the errors of extreme youth do not necessarily entail their evil habits upon the after man." He requested Jackson to address his answer to "J. Rose."[3]

Jackson replied immediately and suggested that J. R. come to Washington to see him. At the same time he advised "the propriety of not disclosing among your friends at New York the object of your journey, or the place which you mean to visit, and that you should not appear on your arrival here to come purposely to see me."[4] Since J. R. had explained that

[1] Public Record Office, London. Foreign Office, series 5 (United States) volume 64, Jackson to Canning, October 18, 1809. Hereafter these documents will be quoted as F. O. 5.

[2] F. O. 353, 59, J. R. to Jackson, New York, September 11, 1809. F. O. 353 refers to the Jackson papers in the Public Record Office.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] F. O. 353, 59, Jackson to J. R., September 25, 1809.

his means did not permit his making the journey to Washington unaided, Jackson enclosed fifty dollars.[5]

J. R. saw Jackson in Washington and on October 11th he was again in New York and very zealous to aid the British Minister in counteracting the work of the anti-British party.[6] In the *Evening Post,* one of the leading Federalist newspapers, published in New York and edited by William Coleman, a communication appeared on October 13th, signed by "Philo" and with the heading, "Magna est Veritas et Prevalebit." The writer said that it was his intention to reveal the real causes of the disavowal of the Erskine agreement by the British government; he would prove that Erskine had disregarded both the letter and the spirit of his instructions and that the prevalent belief in the existence of two sets of instructions was completely erroneous; [7] he hoped that, since he was "possessed of means of the most accurate information . . ." to be able to "erect the banners of triumphant truth on the ruins of defeated error." [8]

The day after the appearance of Philo's article, J. R. informed the British Minister that he had sent the introductory address to Coleman with an anonymous note, and that the article had appeared in the *Evening Post.* The letter continued,

I shall therefore be much obliged by your commenting to me on your earliest convenience such instructions as you may

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] F. O. 353, 59, J. R. to Jackson, October 11, 1809.

[7] Jackson had informed Canning that an attempt had been made to induce the American people to believe that "the disavowal of the Arrangement made here . . . was the Effect of a deliberate Plan of Perfidy . . . practiced by the British Government . . . that His Majesty's Minister in this Country had in fact been authorized to make the Agreement in question, whilst his conduct in so doing was disavowed for the purpose of drawing out of the American Ports and placing within reach of British Cruizers the number of ships . . . which had been secured from Depredation by the Embargo—With this View it is supposed that Mr. Erskine was supplied with a double set of Instructions of discordant tenor, and that it is only one part of them that has been made publick. . . ." F. O. 5, 64, Jackson to Canning, September 13, 1809.

[8] *Evening Post,* October 13, 1809.

deem requisite for the establishment of the first point I have proposed of Mr. Erskine's instructions and his conduct. I am well pleased that Coleman added no remarks of his own as there will be [less] ground for the imputation of connivance on his part and less anxiety on the part of the democrats to discover the writer or the channel of information.[9]

Jackson replied,

Your introductory paper did very well. You may follow it up by a comparison between E's instructions and the arrangement which he concluded here. . . . But what you must particularly insist upon is that this Gov^{t} has no right to complain of the Disavowal which ought to have been anticipated because they knew at the time that he was disobeying his Instructions—in fact were chiefly instrumental in inducing him to do so—for it is obvious that the conditions which he was weak enough to accept were suggested by Mr. Smith [10] in the room of those which Mr. Erskine did propose to him—though *it is said* that he did not, as he might have done, communicate to him his original instructions; you may augur upon the improbability of this assertion—from the circumstances of E's being a young and inexperienced diplomat who w^{d} gladly have availed himself of such a liberty from his court to render his overture the more intelligible. . . . You may spin this out and end by declaring your disbelief in this assertion. That this Gov^{t} knew all along that E. was under an error and that therefore by proceeding as they did . . . they became Parties to the deception and had no right to expect his Act to be ratified and still less to complain of the Disavowal of it.[11]

Philo's second article, which appeared on November 4th, began with an apology for the delay, caused by " unforseen circumstances," in continuing the discussion. It is possible that the unforseen circumstances were the result of Jackson's being too much occupied in his negotiations with the Secretary of State to find time to supply J. R. with the necessary information. This article followed the British Minister's suggestions

[9] F. O. 353, 61, J. R. to Jackson, October 14, 1809. This communication was written between the lines of another letter, probably in lemon or milk.

[10] Robert Smith, of Baltimore, Secretary of State in Madison's cabinet.

[11] F. O. 353, 60. Unsigned, dated " 25th."

faithfully and in some instances his actual wording was adopted.[12]

An announcement that the editor wished to have an interview with Philo appeared in the *Evening Post* and J. R. accepted the invitation. In describing the interview to Jackson, he said,

I saw Mr. C. yesterday and was pleased to find that a republication has taken place in almost all the respectable Federal papers in the Union—He informed me that much enquiry has been made about the author; but as he was himself at that time literally in the dark he could give no satisfactory answer and he is bound as a man of honor to be equally uncommunicative now. He told me that from a similarity of handwriting he had suspected Col. Barclay [13] to have been the writer. . . . He expressed his anxiety to have the discussion continued. . . . I have stated the above circumstances as a prelude to request that if there be any facts bearing strongly on the ensuing points, which I am not yet possessed of, you will have the goodness to communicate them at your earliest leisure. C. has no suspicion, nor did he make any inquiry into the sources of my information; and therefore I should not wish to be later than Monday or Tuesday next before I transmit to him the next number, lest he should imagine that I am waiting for instrutions.[14]

In Philo's third and last communication, which appeared in the *Evening Post* of November 18th, J. R. used another suggestion given him by Jackson about Erskine's instructions. Jackson had written, "Yr. second point is a matter of fact—No secret instructions exist. . . . Your reasoning on it must turn on . . . the certainty of exposure . . . if not true. . . . Mr. Erskine has powerful friends in the British Parliament." [15] Philo maintained that the non-existence of the instructions,

[12] Philo said that Erskine "was a young and inexperienced diplomat. Surely then he would gladly have availed himself of such a liberty given him by his government of making his overtures the more intelligible." *Evening Post*, November 4, 1809.

[13] British Consul General in New York.

[14] F. O. 353, 59, J. R. to Jackson, November 8, 1809.

[15] F. O. 353, 60. Unsigned, dated "October 25th."

which it had been claimed that Erskine possessed, was proved by the fact that had they existed Erskine's friends in Parliament would have discovered them and used them to "exculpate him from the blame which was attached to him by the Ministry. . . . Lord Erskine has written a pamphlet in defence of his son . . . but he has not ventured to make the assertion which I have now been exposing." [16]

Jackson sent more information to J. R. but no other communications from Philo appeared in the *Evening Post,* perhaps because Jackson's letter arrived at the time that the American government broke off relations with the British minister and the public was probably more interested in the recent development in foreign affairs than in tracing the causes of past misunderstandings.

Jackson began his last instructions by warning J. R. to write in lemon because the correspondence of a foreign minister was usually examined at the post office. He advised J. R. to say that he had heard that Jackson had offered proposals to the American government for an arrangement of the controversy resulting from the attack made by the *Leopard* on the *Chesapeake* but "that he has not yet been able to obtain an answer to them—but that this Gov^{t} is in the habit of not returning answers—as in the case of Don Onis [17] who complains bitterly that he could not obtain an answer to a civil letter which he wrote to the Sect'y of State." [18] Jackson concluded his letter by informing J. R. that he might state "that there is perhaps some Truth in the Newspaper reports that the Negotiation with Engl^{d} has been rudely suspended on the part of the American Sect'y of State." [19]

A second Federalist newspaper which Jackson used for the purpose of counteracting the activities of the anti-British party, was the *Federal Republican,* published in Baltimore and edited by Jacob Wagner. Wagner had been chief clerk of the State Department under Timothy Pickering and, according to

[16] *Evening Post,* November 18, 1809.
[17] The Spanish Minister.
[18] F. O. 353, 60.
[19] *Ibid.*

Henry Adams, " was retained in that office by Secretary Madison until 1807, when he resigned the place and made use of his knowledge to attack Madison in the press." [20] Associated with Wagner in directing the policy of the *Federal Republican* was Alexander Contee Hanson. His father was at one time Washington's private secretary and later became chancellor of Maryland. In 1812 the younger Hanson became the leader in an attempt to defend the freedom of the press in Baltimore. After war had been declared the editors of the *Federal Republican* continued to defend the policies of Great Britain and to attack those of their own government. In June a mob destroyed their printing office, while the civil authorities of Baltimore made little attempt to interfere. Jacob Wagner moved to the District of Columbia, where he continued to print his paper in Georgetown. Hanson, however, " and several of the Baltimore Federalists were not disposed to tolerate the dictation of a mob; and . . . some of them determined upon an attempt as foolhardy as it was courageous." [21] About twenty of them, including General Henry Lee and General Lingan, fortified a house on Charles Street which they proposed to defend while Hanson printed the *Federal Republican* there. On July 27th the mob attacked the house with cannon; the defenders were induced to surrender themselves to the civil authorities and were placed in the city jail, where inadequate measures were taken for their defense. The mob succeeded in breaking into the jail and Hanson and his associates received such brutal treatment that General Lingan died and General Lee was crippled.[22]

Among the Jackson papers are many letters signed by Peter Branson or P. B. which were probably written by Alexander Hanson. This conclusion is based on the similarity of the handwriting and the fact that although much of the correspondence concerned the *Federal Republican* there does not seem to have been anyone named Peter Branson who was con-

[20] Adams, Henry, *History of the United States,* vol. VI, p. 406.
[21] *Loc. cit.,* p. 407.
[22] *Loc. cit.,* pp. 406-8.

nected with the paper. Precautions were taken to conceal the identities of both the correspondents. In his first letter to Jackson, Branson wrote, "Permit me to suggest that, for fear of accidents, it will be well to adopt some feigned signature to your letters. Our remarks may then be more free." [23] It may well be that the writer had already adopted this precaution. In another letter, P. B. advised Jackson "to get Mr. Oliver to enclose your letter to his brother John, who will convey it to me through the post office here with great security, or he can leave it at the office which is near him.[24] I prefer some method of this kind in hearing from you as I begin to fear the suspicion of the post-master." [25] On December 26th, William Wood, the British Consul in Baltimore, informed Jackson that he had received the letter sent him by Jackson "under cover for A. C. H." [Alexander Contes Hanson] who had gone to Philadelphia before the letter had arrived.[26] In a letter to Jackson, written on December 27th, P. B. used the phrase, "according to my present impressions, when I saw you in Philadelphia. . . ." [27]

The close connection between P. B. and Hanson is demonstrated in a letter in which P. B. asked Jackson to

> Be so good as to inform your friend that A. C. Hanson leaves the state of Maryland on Tuesday, for the purpose of adjusting an affair of honor with Cap[t] Gordon, the officer of the Frigate Chesapeake, when she struck her colors to . . . the Leopard. Your friend will therefore do well to discontinue his communications until he is apprized of the result, as they may not come to hand.[28]

Four days later P. B. wrote, "Inform your friend that the affair of honor between Mr. Hanson and Mr. Gordon has termi-

[23] F. O. 353, 61, Peter Branson to Jackson, December 9, 1809.

[24] Robert and John Oliver, merchants, lived on Gay Street. The office of the *Federal Republican* was also on Gay Street. Baltimore Directory, 1810.

[25] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, December 16 [1809].

[26] F. O. 353, 59, Wood to Jackson, December 26, 1809.

[27] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, December 27 [1809].

[28] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, January 7, 1810.

nated fatally for the latter, he may therefore continue his communication." [29] There is no trace in the Jackson papers of any correspondence between Jackson and Hanson at this time; it is possible that Jackson's friend, referred to in P. B.'s letters, bore the same relation to Jackson that P. B. did to Hanson. On February 9th P. B. wrote to Jackson concerning the printing of a pamphlet.[30] On February 19th the British Consul in Baltimore informed Jackson that "the pamphlets from H [Hanson] were sent on by the mail stage." [31] In a letter dated March 19th and signed by P. B., Jackson was requested, on his return to England, to arrange for the sending of English newspapers to H.[32] Jackson, addressing his reply directly to Hanson, said, "Yr. letter of the 19th ult. was duly rec'd. . . . Your wish respecting a regular file of newspapers shall be attended to." [33]

In his negotiations with the American Secretary of State, Jackson insisted that no explanation was owed by the British government to the United States for the disavowal of the Erskine agreement since the American government knew at the time the agreement was entered into that it was contrary to the provisions of Erskine's instructions. Because Jackson continued to make this assertion after it had been denied by Robert Smith, the American government refused to hold any further communications with him and asked for his recall.

On December 11th, 1809,[34] the first of a series of articles called "Reflections on the recent rupture with the British Min-

[29] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, January 11, 1810.

[30] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, February 9, 1810.

[31] F. O. 353, 59, Wood to Jackson, February 19, 1810.

[32] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, March 19, 1810.

[33] F. O. 353, 60, Jackson to Hanson, April 9, 1810.

[34] In a letter to Timothy Pickering, dated December 11, 1809, Hanson wrote, "The course which I have taken in the Fed. Rep. I trust has met with the approbation of the party generally. I have advanced nothing which the correspondence [between Jackson and Smith] does not bear me out in. . . . If my leisure and health will permit I hope to have finished my reflections on the documents by the end of this week." *Pickering Manuscripts*, vol. 29, p. 187, Mass. Hist. Society.

ister" appeared in the *Federal Republican*. Among the Jackson papers are a number of documents which are probably the first drafts for these articles. The articles in the *Federal Republican* follow the documents among the Jackson papers with minor changes and some additions. The first of the documents, which corresponds to the last part of the first article called "Reflections" is marked, "sent but not dated 7th Dec. 1809." [35] The other documents are all dated a few days before the corresponding articles appeared in the *Federal Republican*.[36] On December 9th Peter Branson wrote to Jackson, who was in Philadelphia,

Your letter came duly to hand and I only regretted that you limited yourself so much in your remarks. . . . The piece which you propose forwarding will no doubt attract much notice, as the subject is particularly interesting and has not yet been treated of. I had prepared some remarks myself but they they shall be either thrown aside or incorporated with those I may receive from you. . . . The sooner I receive your communication the better.[37]

On December 16th P. B. acknowledged the receipt of another letter from Jackson and went on to say,

It is certainly very much in your power to give useful hints upon certain interesting subjects, which it would be equally my wish to convert to a political use. To keep up a brisk and effectual fire upon the great folk near the Potomac a constant supply of ammunition is necessarry. A well stored magazine is near me but I need not draw upon the documents when I have a better at my command. You will be kind enough therefore to inform my friend that altho' he has been tolerably industrious so far, he has not answered my expectations so well in quantity as in quality of matter. His observations are so spirited and judicious and have done so much good that they ought not be discontinued until he exhausts the subject. I have

[35] F. O. 353, 57.

[36] The manuscripts in the Jackson papers are dated December 7, 9, 11, 18, 19, 22, 25, 27, January 2, 4, 6, 7. One is not dated. The corresponding articles appeared in the *Federal Republican* on December 11, 13, 15, 27, 29, 30, January 1, 8, 9, 17, 19, and February 5.

[37] F. O. 353, 61, Peter Branson to Jackson, December 9, 1809.

been also asked to put into a pamphlet the remarks headed "Reflections" which you are acquainted with. When they are brought to a close, if they are concluded with the same spirit with which they are commenced, and you think it worth while they shall be circulated in a pamphlet. . . . I could have any number of them conveyed to Washington, there closed and franked by members of Congress and thus sent to all parts of the U. States at cost.[38]

Later P. B. reported,

Your letter of the 20th inst. was not received until this morning. Rely upon it, nothing shall be omitted on my part to counteract the mischievous effects of the late doings at Washington. If you continue of the same mind now that you were when your letter was written, "Reflections" and Gardenier's [39] speech when delivered shall be printed. No doubt is entertained that they will do a vast deal of good. . . . According to my present impressions when I saw you in Philadelphia you seemed to be unwilling to incur an expense of more than two or three hundred dollars. Whether both can be printed for that sum I know not, but if you will only notify me of the amount that will be forthcoming, as many of the pamphlets and speeches shall be printed as will meet the sum mentioned. The sooner I hear from you the better. We should strike, as Coleman [40] says, while the iron is hot.[41]

The discussion of publishing "Reflections" as a pamphlet was continued. P. B. wrote,

[38] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, December 16 [1809].

[39] Barent Gardenier, Federalist member of Congress from New York. In an earlier letter P. B. had written, "I had a long conservation with Gardenier as he passed through Sansculloteville. He told me that he had not turned his attention to the documents but had made up his mind if they afforded the materials which I represented, he would resolutely use them with all the effect in his power." F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, December 16 [1809].

[40] Probably William Coleman, editor of the *Evening Post*. In another letter P. B. said that "C——n of New York writes me a flattering account of the public sentiment in that state. The knavery of our great men seems to be properly appreciated there. He thinks that he will be able to wield a club of Hercules that will prostrate into the dust the enemies of correct principles." F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, December 16 [1809].

[41] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, December 27 [1809].

Yours of the 27th has been received. Let me repeat to you that "Reflections" are doing much good and are much read and talked of. The smallest number which I have concluded to have printed and adopted a plan for distributing is 1,000 400 of which shall be set down to your account, the residue shall be paid for by subscription, or myself. I mean to have at least 500 circulated in this state, because here parties are nearly balanced, and great pains are taken by the other side to lead the people astray by distributing Newspapers, Etc. gratis.[42]

Later Jackson was informed that

The best judges have given the preference to "Reflections" over anything that has appeared on the same subject. Some of my friends in Congress hearing that they were to appear in a pamphlet have ordered 250 of them to be purchased on their acc^{t} . . . Rob^{t} LeRoy Livingston and others of New York have taken 100 copies for the purpose of franking and sending to that state.[43]

On February 27th, P. B. wrote,

Every mail is charged with some dozens of the pamphlets. . . . If the author should by any means be known the effect of course would be done away. . . . The secret being imparted to any friend would find its way by degrees to the publick generally. Have you mentioned it to *Coleman?* I have my reasons for asking.[44]

It is clear from these letters that Jackson either wrote "Reflections on the recent rupture with the British Minister" or that he supplied the information for them to their author.

The articles contained a defense of Jackson from the accusations made against him in the despatch from the Secretary of State, Robert Smith, to William Pinkney, the American Minister in London, directing Pinkney to ask for Jackson's recall. The despatch, dated November 23rd, 1809, was among the documents accompanying Madison's annual message and was communicated to Congress on November 29th.[45] The author

[42] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, December 29, 1809.
[43] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, February 9, 1810.
[44] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, undated. Postmarked Feb. 27.
[45] *American State Papers*, Foregin Relations, vol. III, pp. 319-323.

of "Reflections" objected to the presentation of this despatch to Congress and its subsequent publication in the newspapers, before it could reach Pinkney, as a violation of diplomatic usage. The writer maintained that the publication of the document

can be viewed in no other light than as an appendix to the President's message, written and prematurely exposed to view, for the express purpose of inflaming and misguiding the national legislature. . . . Mr. Madison had too much penetration not to forsee that the decision of the American people would be against their faithless rulers unless the correspondence [between Smith and Jackson] should be accompanied by an insidious and inflammatory appeal to their passions and prejudices. . . . And knowing that the lips of the dismissed minister were hermetically sealed, he resolved to issue the manifesto.[46]

The writer did not mention that, although Jackson's lips were considered hermetically sealed, the use of his pen was not only left to him but even encouraged by those Americans who disapproved of the policy pursued by their government.

In the course of the discussion in "Reflections" the three conditions, which Erskine was instructed by Canning to present to the United States and which had been repudiated by them, were defended as consistent with the honor and interests of the American people. The American government had refused to consider giving permission to the British navy to aid in enforcing the Non-intercourse Act against France; in "Reflections" it was maintained that the English government would have been "the veriest idiots if they had believed that American vessels would have abstained from trading with France when the Non-Intercourse Act as regarded England was removed. They know well enough how far this act is efficacious in regard to themselves to trust its strict observance towards France."[47] On the subject of Great Britain's dis-

[46] *Federal Republican*, December 11, 1809. This paragraph does not appear in the documents among the Jackson papers. It is probably the work of P. B.

[47] *Federal Republican*, December 28, 1809. F. O. 353, 57, document dated 19th December.

avowal of the Erskine agreement, it was said, "We have shown that there could not in reason be any reliance on the part of the British Government, in the spirit of Mr. Smith's communications, and that if England had been simple enough to rely upon appearances, so entirely false and illusory, she would have been grossly deceived." [48]

In respect to Jackson's negotiations with the American government, it was denied that anything in his communications to the Secretary of State could be considered insulting and that therefore no justification for his dismissal existed. It was maintained that any misunderstanding on the part of the American government of the real meaning of Jackson's words should have been removed by the explanation contained in his letter to Robert Smith, in which Jackson said, "In stating these facts. . . . Mr. Jackson could not imagine that offence would be taken at it by the American Government, as most certainly none could be intended on his part." The author of "Reflections" considered that "To a man of honor such an explanation would have been held sufficient, but as our government from the commencement never intended to negotiate, it could not be expected that this opportunity would be improved to effect a reconciliation." [49]

In addition to the aid given by the British Minister in contributing "Reflections" to the *Federal Republican,* he apparently helped the Federalist cause by supplying information on miscellaneous subjects to P. B. Unfortunately there are no drafts of Jackson's answer to P. B's. questions among the Jackson papers, but the questions themselves are interesting. At one time P. B. wrote,

I have received a letter from a friend in Congress requesting me to furnish him with the proof of Erskine's letters being

[48] *Federal Republican,* December 28, 1809. F. O. 353, 57, document dated 22 Dec. In the document among the Jackson papers, the phrase "to rely upon so baseless a Fabric" is used instead of the *Federal Republican* version, "to rely upon appearances so entirely false and illusory."

[49] *Federal Republican,* January 9, 1810.

submitted to Rob[t] Smith for revisal. What shall I answer? Shall I say that the evidence is of a nature not to be used in Congress? It should have at once suggested itself that the proof of a fact of such a nature would necessarily be confined to the parties in the case and that English authority would have no weight with Democrats. Am I not correct in the impression that Mr. Oakley [50] was the only witness? If it be otherwise, and any clerk or indifferent person is privy to the circumstance, be so good as to inform me without delay, that a matter so relevant may be properly employed. . . . If the fact can be substantiated it will be used in debate by a member of Congress.[51]

A letter from Jacob Wagner to Timothy Pickering gives a clue to the kind of report that Jackson had been spreading. Wagner wrote,

There is no question that R. Smith corrected the official letters of Mr. Erskine in the sense you understood. . . . Mr. Oakley is quoted as the witness by Mr. Jackson, who has openly spoken of it in terms of censure and astonishment. Mr. Oakley is mentioned as having been the go-between in the communication. . . . Since the receipt of your letter I have made more particular inquiries from Mr. Hanson and his brother Charles, who affirm what I mention, and that the fact was not imparted to them alone but to several others. If the Demogogues should be able to trace this information up to Mr. J. it might give force to their declaration of his remaining here to intrigue; we have therefore declined publicly disclosing the foundation of the assertion. . . . With respect to the reference in the Fed. Republican to *proof* of Mr. Smith having revised and altered Mr. Erskine's official letters, it may be observed that Mr. Jackson was questioned whether Mr. Oakley would adhere to his communication and he answered, that most undoubtedly he would.[52]

Later P. B. wrote that he had heard a rumor that the Spanish Minister had proposed to the American government,

That if our Government will receive him, immediate and

[50] Charles Oakeley, Secretary of the British Legation.
[51] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, December 16 [1809].
[52] Pickering Manuscripts, vol. 29, pp. 194-5, Mass. Hist. Society.

ample remuneration will be made for all depredations heretofore committed upon our commerce, and all claim on the part of Spain to Louisiana will be relinquished and the line of demarkation settled according to our pretensions. Eight millions of dollars have been offered as a sum covering all captures. I am also informed this project has been rejected.

If you can by any means get at the truth of this business from Don Onis, It may be handled to great effect. Will you make the attempt and let me hear from you without delay.[53]

In another letter he asked Jackson,

If it be not inconsistent with you duty, will you do me a great service by informing me as early as possible after your despatches arrive of the course to be taken by England. I am particularly interested in knowing what will be done before the intelligence becomes publick.[54]

He also asked for information as to

whether any arrangement has been made between the Ministers mentioned [Wellesley and Pinkney] and also whether there is any foundation for the reported change of ministry. We look with anxiety for Mr. Canning's restoration. . . . His accession would be a sort of triumph over Democracy.[55]

That suspicions of the relations of the British Minister with the *Federal Republican* were entertained is demonstrated by a letter from Wood, the British Consul in Baltimore, to Jackson. He wrote, "From some expressions in Wagner's paper, the Demos here are trying to make it out that you correspond with him."[56]

A tribute from Jackson to Alexander Hanson shows what a strong bond hatred of democracy constituted at that time. He wrote,

I shall always remember with pleasure and much interest those who have been my fellow labourers in the vineyard and

[53] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, February 1 [1810].
[54] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, February 9, 1810.
[55] F. O. 353, 61, P. B. to Jackson, April 28, 1810.
[56] F. O. 353, 59, Wood to Jackson, March 26, 1810.

in whatever clime I might be transplanted I shall be happy to give them proofs of my unceasing devotion to the same righteous cause, and acquaint them with the progress that shall be made in another Hemisphere. Need I add that under these impressions you will be sure to hear from me.[57]

Jackson made another attempt to influence public opinion in the United States by means of a circular letter which he addressed to the British Consuls. The letter announced Jackson's dismissal by the American government and was dated November 13th. It incorporated Jackson's note to the Secretary of State, also dated November 13th, in which Jackson defended the position he had taken and said that "In stating these facts and in adhering to them, as my duty imperiously enjoined me to do. . . . I could not imagine that offense would be taken at it by the American Government, as most certainly none could be intended on my part." [58]

The Consuls sent characteristic acknowledgments of the circular. Wood wrote from Baltimore on November 14th, "I have received your circular and will do the needful with it." [59] The next day he informed Jackson, "I have shown your letter to Wagner [probably Jacob Wagner, the editor of the *Federal Republican*] and given him some hints which he will take advantage of." [60] Phineas Bond, the Consul General in Philadelphia, took another view of Jackson's method of giving publicity to his side of the quarrel with Robert Smith. He said, "I have received your official letter and private note of the 13th. . . . You are the best judge of the Mode you mean to adopt to correct the public opinion in the present critical state of the public mind." [61] The next day he wrote that the editor of the *Register* (probably of the *Political Register,* a Federalist newspaper published in Philadelphia) had expressed his inten-

[57] F. O. 353, 60, Jackson to Hanson, April 9, 1810.

[58] F. O. 5, 64, enclosure 11 in No. 18, Jackson to Canning, November 15, 1809.

[59] F. O. 353, 59, Wood to Jackson, November 14, 1809.

[60] F. O. 353, 59, Wood to Jackson, November 15, 1809.

[61] F. O. 353, 59, Bond to Jackson, November 15, 1809.

tion of publishing the circular if he could obtain a copy of it. "Perhaps," Bond continued, "You will think the substance of the letter will appear quite seasonably enough and with more propriety when the Correspondence shall be submitted to the View of both Houses of Congress." [62] Thomas Barclay, the Consul General in New York, was even more frank in expressing his opinion. He wrote to Jackson,

In your private note of yesterday you hinted that you hoped the Publick Opinion will be rectified whenever the correspondence between you and Mr. Smith was published, which it would soon be. Whether you alluded to it being published by being laid before Congress by the President, or made public by yourself, I cannot ascertain. If the latter was your intention I hope you will not be offended with me when I beg you to reflect on the propriety of the measure before you carry it into effect.[63]

It is possible that Bond and Barclay remembered the unsuccessful efforts of Gênet to appeal from the American government to the American people.

Jackson, however, was apparently unmoved by these warnings. On November 18th, L. Beach, who was connected with the *Independent American,* a newspaper published in Georgetown, wrote to Jackson that his circular to the Consuls

is in circulation in manuscript in this town. The Democrats are *astounded,* they know not what to say. If the letter should not come out in the Alexandria paper, as I expect, this morning, I must solicit a correct copy for our next paper as it is now high time it should appear in print, and I shall certainly insert it in our next.[64]

The circular appeared in the *Independent American* on November 21st. Apparently its publication had the effect on Federalist opinion, at least, that Jackson had hoped. According to the *Federal Republican,* the publication of Jackson's explanation,

[62] F. O. 353, 59, Bond to Jackson, November 16, 1809.
[63] F. O. 353, 59, Barclay to Jackson, November 17, 1809.
[64] F. O. 353, 61, Beach to Jackson, November 18, 1809.

has given a new impulse and a different direction to the feelings of our citizens. Connected with the numerous falsehoods published in the Government paper . . . it has convinced the candid and judicious men of all parties that there has been duplicity and foul play on the part of Secretary Smith.[65]

Charles Oakeley wrote to Jackson from Philadelphia, "I am informed it [the circular] has given universal satisfaction to all grades of Federalists and the Democrats are embarrassed."[66] He thought that Phineas Bond was more reconciled to the publication, "from the circumstance of your circular having so far answered your Expectation as to producing a beneficial effect."[67]

The publication of the circular did not remain unnoticed by the American government. In directing Pinkney to ask for Jackson's recall, the Secretary of State gave as one of the reasons for the request, the publication of Jackson's letter to the Consuls. Smith said that "as the paper was at once put into public circulation, it can only be regarded as a virtual address to the American people of a representation previously addressed to their Government, a procedure which cannot fail to be seen in its true light by his sovereign."[68]

On December 11th a debate took place in the House of Representatives on a motion, proposed by Josiah Quincy, that the executive department be asked to present the House with a copy of Jackson's circular. The object of Quincy and the other Federalists who took part in the debate, was to make it clear that, in writing to Pinkney, the executive had acted upon unauthenticated newspaper information and that there was no proof that the published form was a true copy of the letter or that Jackson had written it. In the course of the debate Macon and Eppes stated that the authenticity of the letter could be ascertained by calling upon the printers of the newspapers.[69]

[65] *Federal Republican*, November 28, 1809.
[66] F. O. 353, 59, Oakeley to Jackson (undated).
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, vol. III, p. 322.
[69] *Annals of Congress*, 11th Congress, part I, pp. 707-715.

On December 16th, Beach informed Jackson that

One democrat member told me . . . that they should have to call on me in order to identify the letter and to prove that it was written and published by desire of Mr. Jackson. They may *call* but I shall consider before I *come*. At this moment however, I see no reason against giving them the whole story, but I shall think before I speak.[70]

Jackson answered,

I suppose nothing farther will be said to you about the Circular, nor do I know how you can be forced to declare through what channel you obtained it. There were many copies in circulation in George Town, Philadelphia and N. York, where the publication took place on the same day, if not sooner, as in the I. American. . . . It would be most politic to say nothing more about it and I don't suppose even Giles means to thumbscrew you.[71]

Jackson must have felt that his attempt to influence American public opinion, in this instance, was open to criticism because the explanation of the episode which he sent to his own government cannot be considered a candid one. He wrote,

Neither as a Minister, nor as an individual could I submit the Aspersions thus thrown upon my Conduct to remain unnoticed, and I know of no more legitimate manner than a communication to those persons who naturally look to me for Information and support. If my letter got first into circulation and afterwards into print, it was a circumstance, which altho' I did not think myself authorized to make the Publication, I could not regret. It was highly necessary that some Means should be taken to correct the Publick Mind, and that this effect was produced in a very great Degree, is, I believe, the real motive of the Sensibility of the American Government on the subject.[72]

In December 1809, Jackson's expenses for newspaper propaganda had reached the sum of five hundred pounds. He

[70] F. O. 353, 61, Beach to Jackson, December 16th, 1809.
[71] F. O. 353, 61 (unsigned, dated December 20th.)
[72] F. O. 5, 64, No. 23, Jackson to Canning, December 6th, 1809.

thought, however, that although "the service . . . is become, under the recent Turn which Affairs have taken, even more urgent than before, it is right to say that I am not aware that I shall have any further call of this Nature," unless further activity in this direction were thought necessary by the foreign secretary.[73] But a letter which Jackson received from Richard Soderstrom, the Swedish Consul General, shows that he continued his propaganda through the newspapers. Soderstrom wrote early in 1810 of a newspaper communication (which I have been unable to trace), "I am sure that it is written by J. R. yet he has disappointed me much—friday I believe we will have a new one written in our other name." [74] Immediately before his return to England, Jackson informed his government that he had spent another two hundred pounds,[75] making a total of seven hundred pounds for newspaper propaganda during his year of residence in the United States.

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[73] F. O. 5, 64, Jackson to Bathurst, December 27, 1809.
[74] F. O. 353, 61, Soderstrom to Jackson.
[75] F. O. 353, 60, Jackson to Wellesley, September 15, 1810.

"PATOWMECK ABOVE YE INHABITANTS."

A Commentary on the Subject of an Old Map.

By William B. Marye.

Part Two

a. Character of the Country: the "howling wilderness"; barrens; "ye Elks licking place."
b. The Tuscarora Indian Town.
c. King Opessa's Town on the "Warriors' Path."
d. Evidences of Shawnee Settlements in Baltimore County.

(a)

When the Hon. Philemon Lloyd, some time in the year 1721, made his map of those parts of the povinces of Maryland and Virginia which lay along the Potomac and its tributaries "beyond ye inhabitants," the white inhabitants, of course, meaning, that extensive territory was still what most of us would describe as a "howling wilderness." This wilderness extended to the eastern edges of the Monocacy valley and no white settlers as yet, so far as records show, with the possible exception of a few Indian traders, were living within the confines of that valley. Of Indian towns there were, in that part of this wilderness which was embraced within the province of Maryland, several, of which three were inhabited by Shawnees and one by Tuscaroras. All of these towns were then, as it will presently appear, of more or less recent origin. Of the prehistoric Indian inhabitants of what is now Western Maryland nothing definite seems to be known; and very little, if anything, of a definite nature can be said of those Indians who may have lived in those parts in the five decades which followed the founding of Maryland. This entire region was visited by and more or less lorded over either by Susquehannocks or by the people of the Five Nations. All of these peoples had their homes elsewhere.

At the making of the treaty of Lancaster, June, 1744, the representatives of the Six Nations call to mind their conquest of the Indian tribes which formerly inhabited the Susquehanna, the Cohongoronta (upper Potomac) and "on the Back of the Great Mountains in Virginia," naming separately four tribes, among whom the Conoy or Piscattaways seems to be the only ones which may be identified to a certainty. (*Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, Vol. IV, p. 698 et seq.) A well known authority, David I. Bushnell, Jr., is of the opinion that among the other three the Manahoac and Monocan, Siouan peoples which formerly inhabited the Valley of Virginia, may possibly be mentioned. (*Virginia Historical Magazine,* Vol. XXXIV, p. 295 et seq.) Altogether, there appears to be but a slim chance that among these four names we have one of an otherwise unknown Indian people who at one time had their home somewhere on the upper Potomac in what is now the State of Maryland. But why the Conoys or Piscattaways, may we not inquire? These people, so far as we know, were never conquered by the Five Nations. There is no intimation in the Maryland Archives that the Piscattaways, whose chief place of residence in the seventeenth century was on Piscattaway Creek in Maryland, had any close relations living farther west in the provinces of Maryland and Virginia, with whom they had intercourse, or on whom they could draw in time of need. They did not forsake this ancient home of theirs until 1697, when they repaired to the valley of Opequon Creek in Virginia, and it was not until 1699 that they were found on the upper Potomac or Cohongoronta, at the island which, in memory of their residence there, was afterwards known as Conoy Island. I cite this fact, because, as I have shown in my previous article, Philemon Lloyd refers to the Conoys as "a Numerous People wch (which) heretofore Inhabited ye Upper Parts of yt River" (the Potomac). Does he refer to their brief and at that time but recently ended period of residence on Conoy Island, or by "upper parts" does he refer to those parts of the Potomac about Piscattaway? In all

probability he meant one thing or the other; but, of course, there is at least a bare chance that he had reference to a tradition, according to which a large body of these people at one time lived on what we should call the "upper parts" of the Potomac, that is, in what is now Western Maryland or West Virginia. (See article on the Conoy in *Handbook of American Indians,* Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, page 339, where the possibility that the Conoy once lived on the Kanawha River, in what is now West Virginia, is mentioned.)

To return to the subject of the Monocacy and its valley, the name, as the reader learned from my last article, is Shawnee, according to Lloyd; consequently it is probably of no great antiquity—not much more than two hundred and fifty years old—since it was almost certainly the invention of the inhabitants of the Shawnee towns of the upper Potomac. Lloyd gives us the "Seneca" (the Five Nations) name for this river—*Cheneoow-quoquey.* From Louis Michel we get "Quattaro" (1707) for the stream (*Virginia Historical Magazine,* Vol. XXIX, page 1), and from Baron de Graffenried's Map of the Potomac River, 1712, we get "R. (rivière) de Coturki." (See reprint of this old map in Fairfax Harrison's *Landmarks of Old Prince William,* Vol. 1, at page 265.) These last two names I take to be Indian, although I must admit that to me they have not exactly an "Indian" sound. I hazard the suggestion that one of them may be the Conoy or Piscattaway name for the Monocacy.

The western parts of Maryland were in primitive times crossed by a number of Indian trails, at least three of which were of great length and had their points of origin and destination in other provinces. I refer to the so called "Warriors' Path," to the "Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster," so called, and to the old "Conestoga Path" or Road. These Indian paths will be made the subject of another chapter. I have already written at length about one of them, the Conestoga Path (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. XV, page 364 et seq.).

The Conestoga Path, to sum up all that seems to be definitely ascertainable regarding it, appears to have originated in the Indian town of Conestoga, the principal habitation of the remnants of the Susquehannock Indians in the eighteenth century. This town was situated on Conestoga Creek in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, some distance below the site of Lancaster. From Conestoga the Indian path proceeded to the Susquehanna, which it crossed somewhere in the neighborhood of the Blue Rock, or so it would seem from the evidence in hand. This place was not far from Washingtonboro and in the immediate neighborhood of the old Susquehannock fort of history. From the west bank of the Susquehanna the Conestoga Path journeyed in a south westerly direction, across what are now the counties of York in Pennsylvania, Carroll and Frederick in Maryland, to the Monocacy River, passing over the headwaters of Codorus and Conewago Creeks and over Great and Little Pipe Creeks. The ford at which it crossed the Monocacy was nearly due east of the site of Frederick. Evidence to prove this point will be presented in another article. From the Monocacy the Conestoga Path went over the mountains in a westerly direction, crossing Katoctin and Antietam Creeks, to a ford on Potomac River below Sherherdstown, which came to be known as the " Old Packhorse Ford " from the fact that it was used by Conestoga traders with their packhorses, on their way into Virginia along the Conestoga trail. Ultimately the Conestoga Path probably made connection with the " Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster."

Something of the essence of the wilderness traversed by the old Conestoga Path and of the life of the white trader on the path emanates from the proceedings of the trial of two brothers named, respectively, John and Edmund Cartlidge, for responsibility in the death of a Seneca Indian. The savage incident, its wild attendant circumstances and its curious wilderness " bouquet " seem all the stranger from the fact that the time of its occurrence, the month of February in the year 1722, was near the very eve of the opening up of the Monocacy valley

to white settlements, after which nothing quite like it could happen again. The Cartlidge brothers lived in the Indian town of Conestoga, from which it would seem, they carried on a trade with Indians of Maryland. The murder caused a great stir among the Indians of those parts and, while it appears to have been committed in self-defence, an investigation was not to be avoided, and, in order to conduct this inquiry, the Hon. James Logan and Colonel John French set out from Philadelphia for Conestoga in March, 1721/2. (*Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,* Vol. 3, p. 146.) Meanwhile notice of the death "at Monocasey" of "the great Sinicar Indian" had been entered in the Maryland archives (see "The Old Indian Road" by this author, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. XV, p. 392). Logan and French, on arriving at Conestoga, found John Cartlidge in the sheriff's custody and ascertained that his brother, Edmund, "was then over the River Sasquehannah waiting with a Gang of Horses as we were informed, for his Brother to joyn him to proceed on their business of Trade towards Potowmeck." The trial of John Cartlidge was held at Conestoga on March 14th, 1721/2 (*Ibid.,* p. 148 et seq.). It was testified by Indian witnesses that the murder was committed at "Manakassey, a Branch of Potowmeck River," which I understand to mean at no particular settlement, but somewhere in the Monocacy valley. The dead man was a Seneca Indian named Sawantaeny, "a Warriour, a civil man of few Words." "He was hunting, being used to hunt in that place." "The man had been hunting there alone, with a Squaw that kept his Cabin, til John Cartlidge and his People came thither to trade with him for his Skins." Cartlidge, it appears, had with him besides his brother, Edmund, an Indian guide and two white servants. Two Shawnee "lads" were also present. On their arrival at the Seneca's cabin they (the traders) presented him (the Seneca) with some rum and then began to trade with him, using more rum as their medium of exchange. The trading continued on the following day, when the tragedy occurred as a result of a quarrel over the amount

of rum due to the Indian. The Seneca, it seems, made an attack on one of the Cartlidge brothers, who thereupon hit him a violent blow on the head with his gun, driving the hammer of the gun into his brain, after which the brothers and their servants and Indian guide seem to have departed the scene in haste. The testimony of Weynepreeneyta, the squaw of the murdered man, is moving. She is described as "a Shawnese woman, cousin of Savannah, Chief of the Shawnee nation." She tells how the wounded man staggered into his cabin and how "a great Quantity of Blood came from his wounds, which clotted on the Bear skin on which he lay." The following day he died. "She was alone with the Corps and went to seek some help to Bury him." "In the mean time an Indian Woman, wife to Passalty of Conestogoe, with the Hermaphrodite of the same place, coming thither by accident and finding the Man dead buried him in the Cabin, and were gone from thence before she returned, but she met them in the way and understood by them that they had laid him in the Ground." After her testimony comes that of Passalty's wife and of "the hermaphrodite" (*ibid.*, p. 150), who declare "that Kannannowach, a 'Cayoogoe' Indian, was the first who found the man dead, and that he hired them to go bury him lest the Beasts or Fowls should eat him[1]; that it was about seven Days after his Death that they went thither, for the Body then Stunk." The commissioners, Logan and French, reported, on hearing the testimony, "that the Body of the Indian supposed to be killed had been buried

[1] They not only buried the body but they first prepared it for burial by washing the wounds. The explanation of the fact that the Cayuga man hired them to do this may be that it was not regarded as a man's work. On this point I have sought enlightenment but without definite results. I do find the statement made on good authority, than among Algonquian peoples grave-digging was generally the work of old women (*Handbook of the American Indian*, Vol. I, page 42). Burial of a person in the ground of his cabin was a custom in vogue among some Indian peoples and, apparently, in this case it was done not by whim but according to custom. The situation was complicated, as the deceased was a Seneca (Iroquois) and his wife a Shawnee (Algonquian). The grave-diggers were Susquehannocks or Conestoga (Iroquois).

about six weeks before their arrival at Conestogoe in a solitary uninhabited wilderness, three Days Journey from thence; so that it was not only out of time to have a satisfactory view taken of the same, but also it was impracticable for them to get such a number of Christians to undertake that Journey as would constitute a Jury." (*Ibid.*, p. 153.) This of the Monocacy valley in 1722! John Cartlidge, the accused, was admitted to bail, but his name was struck off the list of justices of Chester County and he was forbidden thereafter to cross the Susquehanna to trade with the Indians. (*Ibid.*, p. 156.) Some months later the two brothers were pardoned at the request of the Five Nations. (*Ibid.*, p. 212.) Edmund Cartlidge removed to Maryland and was one of the pioneers in the settlement of the western part of the colony. He held the office of justice of the peace.[2] One wonders if in after life he was sometimes visited by the memory of that unpleasant incident of the Monocacy wilderness the fate of which he helped to seal.

So much for the wilderness and its ineffable "bouquet." Let us now consider the subject of an almost, if not wholly forgotten feature of this wilderness: the barrens. I have seen it stated in print and on what purported to be good authority, that the whole of what is now Maryland, before the country was developed by Europeans, was covered with a dense forest. Setting aside the fact that the Indian inhabitants, where they had more or less permanent settlements, cultivated a considerable amount of land, I believe this statement as to the former existance of a continuous forest, interrupted only by water courses, to be quite misleading. In my reading of old land certificates I have frequently found mention of "barrens." These "barrens" are generally not described, so that it may be contended that they were lands covered with a scrubby growth of trees and bushes, or were of the nature of the places called "pine bar-

[2] See Court Proceedings, Prince George's County, Md., Liber "S" (1732-March, 1734), folio 504: Edmund Cartlidge recommended to be added to the Commission for the Peace, November court, 1733.

rens " today; and in some cases no doubt such was their character. There is, however, abundant evidence to prove that true " barrens," or what in a qualified sense might have been called " prairies," at one time existed in the eastern parts of what we now call " Western Maryland " and were of very considerable, if not of vast extent. Descriptions of these barrens by witnesses are not wanting.

Captain Richard Brightwell, commander of the rangers stationed at New Scotland on Potomac River (probably at Little Falls), writing in the year 1697 about his explorations of the back country, mentions the fact that he found " barrens backwards " from the river. (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XVI, p. 125, note 31.)

In a letter of October 8th, 1722, The Hon. Philemon Lloyd describes the barrens as follows:

" The Lands next above our Settlements upon the West side of the Susquehannah and all along upon the West side of Baltemore County are cutt off and separated from the Present Inhabited parts by large Barrens, many miles over." Further on in the same letter he again mentions these barrens: ". . . from the Heads of Patapsco, Gunpowder and Bush Rivers over to Monockasey is a Vast Body of Barrens; that is, what is so called, because there is no wood upon it; besides Vast Quantities of Rockey Barrens." (*Peabody Fund Publications,* No. 34, page 57.)

In the letter-books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis (1691-1755) we find an undated letter addressed by Carroll to his son Charles, then in London. In this letter we encounter this very striking description of the barrens:

" About thirty miles from the navigable water is a Range of barren dry land without timber about nine miles wide which keeps a course about north east and south west parallel with the mountains thro this province Virginia and Pennsylvania, but between that and the mountains the lands mend and are very good in several parts."

The aspect of the barrens in the upper part of Baltimore

County is well described by several observers in the certificate of survey of a tract of some six hundred and sixty-two acres, which was laid out for James Calder on March 6th, 1771, and called "Castle Calder." This land is situated near Parkton in the Seventh District of Baltimore County. The surveyor's own description of it is as follows:

"There is in this survey about forty acres of poor marsh and about ten acres of scrubby woods and brushy ground, the rest very poor bare Barrens."

"There is a pretty large marsh or glade that might be made into meadow," says John Merryman, who inspected the tract. "The upland (all I saw) was Barrande, hilly and stony, except a few acres."

James Sterett makes allowance for the meadow ground, but adds: "The up land is poore hilly Barranse and much broke with stone and very scarce of timber."

Benjamin Rogers gives the land credit for forty or fifty acres of wet ground, which might be made into meadow, and describes the upland as "exceedingly poor and much broke with stone and little or no timber of any sort."

These barrens were doubtless one of the favorite haunts of the buffalo, which Captain Henry Flleete (1632) and the unidentified author of "A Relation of Maryland" (1635) mention as indigenous to the country. (Neill's *Founding of Maryland,* p. 27: the *Journal of Henry Fleete; Narratives of Early Maryland,* p. 80: *A Relation of Maryland.*)

The subject of fauna brings us naturally to that of the Elks' Lick. This place, which was situated in Virginia west of Opequon Creek and between that creek and Potomac River, is thus described on Lloyd's map of 1721: "A Salt Soyl called Ye Elks licking place: great droves of those Creatures resorting there to lick ye earth." In that same letter of Dr. Charles Carroll, to which reference was made above, the author refers to such places, to which "the wild creatures as elk, Buffeloes, Deer, wolves and Bears" resort in search of salt: "I have myself seen in divers places Back where the ground hath been eat

away for two or more acres square by the wild creatures as if earth for bricks had been dug in the place in some part two three or four feet deep as the nitrous or aluminious earth lay." (Letter of Dr. Charles Carroll, [1752?], published in this magazine. Taken from his " letter book.")

(b)

The Tuscarora Indian Town.

On Philemon Lloyd's map of 1721 the words " ye Tuskarora Indian Town " will be found on that part of the map which represents the angle formed by the west side of Monocacy River at its mouth and the River Potomac. The true site of the town was probably not far from the mouth of a stream still known as Tuscarora Creek, which lies at a distance of about a mile and three-quarters above the mouth of the Monocacy. Another stream of the same name empties into Monocacy River about two miles and a half above Frederick. Both streams have their sources in Catoctin Mountain. Undoubtedly these creeks owe their names to small contemporary settlements of the Tuscarora Indians. I find one of them mentioned in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called " Thicket," which was laid out on January 10th, 1731/32, for Dr. Thomas Craig and John Beal, Sr., in what was then Prince George's County, and is described in part as follows: lying " at the foot of the first ridge of Mountains " (i. e., the Catoctin), " beginning at a bounded hickory and chestnut sapling standing by a small run the westermost branch of Tuskorara Run." On Martinet's map of Frederick County, 1866, the upper creek is called Little Tuscarora Creek and the lower one South Tuscarora Creek.

The unsuccessful wars which the Tuscarora were obliged to wage with the white people of North Carolina (1711-1713), induced large numbers of the tribe to emigrate to the northward, mostly to New York, where eventually they were incorporated with the Five Nations. (See *Handbook of American Indians,* Vol. 2, p. 842 et seq.) The Indian town at the mouth

of Monocacy was unquestionably the home of a band of these emigrant Tuscarora, who tarried there on their way north for a period of several years or longer. It is worthy of note that de Graffenried, who visited that locality in 1712, makes no mention of this town, which probably did not exist at that time. Instead of an Indian town he found a "quartier" or "quarter" of Martin Chartier (he calls him "Charetier"), that picturesque Frenchman and Indian trader, who twenty years before had led a large bank of Shawnee Indians across Maryland to a temporary refuge on Bohemia Manor in Cecil County, and whose mistaken identity (he was taken for no less a person than Castine, the one time Governor of Canada) caused a great stir (*Maryland Archives*, Vol. VIII, p. 460). Almost all that is known of this interesting and (for Pennsylvania, at least) historical person is admirably related by Hanna in "The Wilderness Trail"; but Hanna did not know of his trading post at the mouth of Monocacy. (*The Wilderness Trail,* by Charles Augustus Hanna, Vol. I, chapter on the Shawnee Indians.) Colonel Casparus Herman, son of the founder of Bohemia Manor, described his uninvited guest as "a man of Excellent Parts" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. VIII, p. 458). Chartier had lived with these Shawnees at Fort Saint Louis on the Illinois River, and he claimed to have been "with Monsieur de la Salle that Journey that he was killed" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXIII, p. 500). Eventually (circa 1697) Chartier departed the province of Maryland with his Shawnee friends and with them settled on the east bank of the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania, at Pequea. (*The Wilderness Trail,* Vol. I, p. 160.) De Graffenried met him at the Piscattaway Indian town of Canavest on Conoy Island (now called Heater's Island, near Point of Rocks) in the Potomac River. Apparently Chartier had at this time forsaken Pequea with the intention of taking up a permanent residence at his trading quarter on the Potomac near the mouth of Monocacy, an intention which was not carried out, however. De Graffenried lodged with Chartier and his Indian wife at the trading quarter, where he was re-

galed "after the Indian fashion." (Question: was she that same Indian wife he had with him, when he made his appearance on Bohemia Manor?) Together with Chartier and several Indians de Graffenried ascended Sugar Loaf Mountain, from the top of which they obtained a magnificent view over the wilderness in all directions. (See Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission: *Baron Christopher von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern,* pp. 89, 247, 383, 391. See also *Landmarks of Old Prince William,* by Fairfax Harrison, Vol. 1, p. 265: de Graffenried's Map of Potomac River, 1712, on which the site of the "Quartier de Martin Charetier" is indicated.) The fact that Martin Chartier had a trading post at the mouth of Monocacy near the site of the Tuscarora village lends historical interest to the place; and it is, moreover, not beyond the range of possibility that it was Chartier, himself, who induced the Tuscaroras to tarry there and to build a town.

The presence of the Tuscarora Indians in Maryland did not pass unnoticed by the citizens of the province. Their town on Potomac is not only indicated on Lloyd's map of 1721, but it is mentioned by Lloyd in a letter to Lord Baltimore, dated September 10th, 1722. Its situation is described as "near ye Mouth of Monockasey." (Dulaney Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Number 6.) Apparently the Governor of Maryland made a treaty of peace with the Tuscaroras in the year 1719 (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXXIII, pp. 323, 400, 489). In April, 1720, Philip Thomas of Anne Arundel County made complaint to the House of Burgesses that a servant of his had run away to the Tuscarora Indians, "who refuse to deliver the same." It was ordered "that the said Indians deliver the said servant or shew cause why they detain him contrary to the Treatie of Peace made with them last Assembly (*ibid.,* p. 489). The Indian towns of the western part of Maryland, notably those of the Shawnee, as we shall presently observe, were at that time a famous harbor of refuge for runaway slaves, servants and convicts. This treaty of peace does not seem to have

been considered effective, for in August, 1721, the King of the Tuscaroras and other Indians waited on the governor at Annapolis with a view of making a new treaty " towards a reconciliation of some differences with some of the Inhabitants of Prince George County (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXXIV, p. 155). After 1722 we hear no more of the Tuscaroras in Maryland. The growing threat of advancing white settlements no doubt induced them soon afterwards to abandon their town on the Potomac and to proceed northwards to join the main body of their fellow countrymen who had sought asylum there.

(c)

King Opessa's Town.

The author of the article on the Shawnee in the *Handbook of American Indians* dates the beginning of the migrations of the Shawnees from their ancient homes in South Carolina from the year 1677 or thereabouts. This migration, we are informed, continued at intervals through a period of thirty years. " The ancient Shawnee villages formerly on the sites of Winchester, Virginia, and Oldtown, near Cumberland, Maryland, were built and occupied probably during this migration." (*Handbook of American Indians,* Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, part 2, p. 533.) No doubt this is true, although we lack positive proof that Chartier's band, which passed through Maryland in 1692, tarrying until 1697 in Cecil County, and which, as Hanna clearly shows in " The Wilderness Trail," hailed from Fort Saint Louis on the Illinois, did not leave some of its members behind it at these towns, if, indeed, members of the band were not the actual founders of the towns in question. In the month of February, 1697, the plantation of James Stoddert, situated on the Eastern Branch (Anacostia Creek) of Potomac River, was visited by some sixteen Indians, " that live, as I understood them, near the mountaines," according to Stoddert's own account. " They had with them Skins and ffurrs which they offered to sell (the which I

bought) when they went away signified by signs that they would come againe at the spring of the year and bring some more Skinnes." (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XIX, p. 522.) The same volume of *Maryland Archives* contains a reference under date of June 1st, 1697, to certain depositions concerning the "mountaine Indians," but the depositions are not recorded therein (*ibid.*, p. 521.) Elsewhere in the Archives we find these Indians referred to as "Strange Indians that are at the head of Potomocke neare the mountains." This designation will be found in the report of a committee on Indian affairs, which bears the same date as the record above referred to. (*Ibid.*, p. 574.) Their relationship to the "Indians which live at the head of the bay" (Shawnees) was suspected, but both were then supposed to be a "scattered people," coming originally from the province of New York. (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXIII, p. 28.) At a conference which was held in the month of May, 1698, between representatives of the Province of Maryland and the kings of the Susquehanock, Delaware and Shavanole (Shawnee) Indians, the king of the Susquehannocks was charged with responsibility for the "Indians lying back upon the mountaines," but absolutely and, as it would seem, quite truthfully, denied that they belonged to his people. Meauroway, the old king of the Shawnees (i. e., of that band of Shawnees which had settled on Bohemia Manor, and which about this time had taken up their abode at Pequea in Pennsylvania) and Penascoh (Opessa?), his "coadjutant," who probably knew full well who these "mountain Indians," their own relations, were, maintained a discreet silence and were not pressed for information. (*Ibid.*, pp. 427, 430.) At a meeting of the Council held on October 15th, 1697, it was recommended "that a number of men out of each Province (i. e., from Maryland and Virginia) be by consent appointed to go out in the Spring of the year to find out the mountain Indians that are said to be beyond the Piscattaways where they are now seated." (*Ibid.*, p. 234.)[3] The Piscattaways were then living in the

[3] The report of this proposed expedition, if it ever came off, seems to be missing.

valley of Opequon Creek, in Virginia, whither they had recently absconded.

The above cited records are, I believe, the earliest existing references to the Shawnee settlements on the Potomac.[4]

Of these Shawnee towns on Potomac there were certainly two, most probably three. All were deserted before 1738. On John Warner's map of the Northern Neck, 1738, we find "Shanno Indian Fields deserted" on the north bank of the Potomac or Cohongoronta, opposite to the mouth of the Wappacomo or South Branch, that is, on the sight of King Opessa's Town, which about this time began to be known as "Old Town." (*Landmarks of Old Prince William*, Vol. 2, p. 441.) On this same map we find "Shawno Ind.ⁿ Fields deserted" on the north side of the Cohongoronta, stretching from about the site of Cumberland upwards along the river for a considerable distance.[5]

The "Old Towns" are mentioned in various land records, as follows:

In the certificate of survey of "Indian Seat," laid out for John Charlton November 8th, 1739, in what was then Prince George's County, there is mention of "the Old Town."

In the certificate of survey of "I Never See It," laid out for John Tolson, 1743, in Prince George's County, we find mention of the "Upper Old Town" on Potomac River.

[4] I regret to be obliged to charge with an error of some little importance that generally accurate and excellent work, *The Wilderness Trail*. Hanna has it that the earliest known reference to these Potomac Shawnee is to be found in a record printed in the *Maryland Archives* and dated June 1, 1693; but the record to which he refers bears the date of June 1, 1697, and is to be found in *Maryland Archives*, Vol. XIX, at page 574, and not in Vol. VIII, at page 443, as he has it (see *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. I, p. 157).

[5] Exactly the same information is found on William Mayo's Map of the Northern Neck, 1737, which is reprinted in *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. I, opposite to page 156. Fry and Jefferson's Map of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, 1751, shows "Shawno Fields" on both sides of the Potomac at the mouth of the South Branch or Wappacomo, and "Shawno fields deserted" on the north side of the river above Fort Cumberland.

The description of a tract of land called "Colmore's Ramble," which was surveyed for Colmore Beans on February 28th, 1743/4, runs partly as follows: "beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the side of a hill near the head of a small branch that falleth into Little Cunolloway's and on the left hand side of the main road that goes from the said Little Cunnolloway's to the Old Town and near where the said Road crosses Cunnollaway's Hill."

The road to Old Town, which is referred to in the above mentioned certificate of survey, had existed at that time for something less than a year, for in the proceedings of the court of Prince George's County for the month of June, 1743, we find the petition of Nicholas Smith and others "ye Inhabitants of Potomack, Andiedom and Conococheg o," who call to mind the fact that no public road had as yet been laid out by the court's order "from the ferry near the mouth of Conogochego to Capt. Thomas Cresops" (i. e., to Old Town), and that the way was "much frequented by Travelers" (there must already have been a path). The petitioners desired that such a road be "cut and cleared" and that Cresap be appointed surveyor to lay out this road. (Prince George's County Court Proceedings, Liber A. A., June, 1742-June, 1743, folio 480.) This petition was granted and the road duly laid out, and so was made a convenient way of access to a place which only twenty-two years before seemed so remote and vague that Philemon Lloyd could describe it in these words: "King Opessa's Town. Some hundred Miles as it is supposed from ye River Cunnatchique." The actual distance in a straight line is not above forty miles, and the distance by road far less than a hundred.

On November 30th, 1751, Daniel Cresap took up a tract of land called "Little Meadow," of which the following is part of the description found in the certificate of survey: "Beginning at a bounded white oak standing by the side of a small ridge near some sink holes about a quarter of a mile from Potomack River near the Upper old Indian Town." I have not located this tract, but I believe that the Indian town re-

ferred to in this certificate was the one (then, of course, deserted), which stood near the site of the city of Cumberland.

The existance of another "Old Town" and, I believe, undoubtedly, of one of the Shawnee settlements contemporary with King Opessa's Town, is revealed in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Choice," which was laid out for Thomas Prather on September 30th, 1747: "beginning at a bounded white oak and hickory standing on the Bank of Potomack River at the upper end of Walker's Bottom about a mile below Sideling Hill and about three miles and a half above the Old Town." The situation of this "Old Town" seems to have been about mid-way between Sideling Hill and Handcock.

In a report, dated September 5th, 1730, concerning the murder of three Indians, Joshua Lowe, coroner of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, mentions "Opessa Towne" and furthermore makes mention of "an old 'Delaware man' named Oppenella belonging to Augaluta, a towne near Opessa." (*Pennsylvania Archives,* Vol. I, p. 269.) Possibly we have here the name of the Shawnee town near the site of Cumberland. The fact that a Delaware Indian resided there need not deter us in forming this theory, since these Shawnee towns probably tended to be cosmopolitan.

Regarding King Opessa, for whom King Opessa's Town seems to have been named, we know that as king of the Shawnees ("Shavanolls") who were then seated at Pequea in Pennsylvania, he made a treaty with Maryland in the year 1700 (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXV, p. 104). Almost without a doubt he was one of that band of Shawnee which peacefully invaded Maryland in the summer of 1692. Hanna offers evidence that he was one of them when they left Maryland for Pennsylvania about 1697. He made a treaty with William Penn on behalf of his people in 1701. (*The Wilderness Trail,* Vol. I, p. 135.) About 1711, he left Pequea, because, as it was alleged, his subjects "differed with him." (*The Wilderness Trail,* Vol. I, p. 152; *Pennsylvania Archives,* Vol. I, p. 90.) According to Hanna he sought refuge first among the Dela-

wares and later, it is presumed, took up his residence in the town of his people situated at the junction of the north and south branches of Potomac River, to which he gave his name: King Opessa's Town. (*The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. I, p. 152.) He died before July 12th, 1720, for James Logan, Secretary of Pennsylvania, who mentions him in a report of that date, refers to a time anterior to that when "he was then living." (*Pennsylvania Archives,* Vol. I, p. 90.) Opessa seems to have been a man of some character and dignity, if the testimony of certain Seneca witnesses is to be believed. Hanna quotes this testimony in full. (*The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. I, p. 165.) A certain prominent Indian trader, angered by the loss of some runaway servants, offered a reward for the return of the said servants, dead or alive. This proposition was made to some of the young men of the Pequea Shawnee, who were about to start on a hunting expedition; but Opessa, who was present, rebuked the trader for inciting these impressionable youths to murder, "and therefore ordered him to desist, utterly denying his request."

It has already been noted how the Hon. Philemon Lloyd, in a letter dated October 8th, 1722, described Opessa's town as "a large town" of the Shawnee Indians (see *supra*, p. 7). That it was the principal town of the group is hardly to be doubted. About the year 1722, if not earlier, King Opessa's Town became a place of refuge for runaway slaves who succeeded in escaping from the plantations of Maryland and Virginia. Governor Spottswood of Virginia offered a reward of a gun and two blankets apiece to every Indian who should deliver one such runaway at the Plantation of Colonel Mason on Potomac River. (*Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,* Vol. III, p. 220 et seq.; *Archives of Maryland,* Vol. XXXIV, p. 353 et seq.) Even more concern over this state of affairs seems to have been felt in Maryland and divers efforts were made to get in touch with the Indians of Opessa's Town, who proved to be wary and evasive. On November 1st, 1722, the Governor sent for the Indian traders who were then to be found at Annapolis,

to confer with them about the matter of the "Shawan" Indians (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXXIV, p. 379). The following day he appointed Charles Anderson, one of these traders, to repair to the principal Shawnee town on Potomac, in order to treat with the Indians of that place over the return of negro slaves "who for some time past have been entertained at their Towns on Potomac River." He was instructed to seek out Pokaseta and Oneakoopa, chiefs of these Indians, and to present them each with a pair of silk stockings and a "stroud matchcoat," in order to facilitate the negotiations. (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXV, p. 394.) What came of this visit I have not been able to ascertain; but three years later the question of the runaway slaves who were being harbored in these Shawnee towns, was still a sore point with Maryland planters who lived along the frontier. It came up before the Council on May 20th, 1725, and John Powell, gent., was thereupon appointed to go forthwith to the "Shuano Town on Potomack commonly called Opessas Town" in order to invite some of the principal Indians of that town to meet the Governor at the house of Charles Anderson "near Mononknisea" (Monocacy). He was to be provided with an interpreter and with a guide. (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXV, p. 443.) The Indians apparently made the desired appointment, but failed to keep it. On July 14th of the same year Governor Calvert sent Israel Friend, an Indian trader, to the "Shuano Indians on Potomack," to express regrets that they had not seen fit to keep their former appointment, and to appoint a meeting for the 5th of October following at Annapolis. (*Ibid.,* p. 451.) The Governor was evidently determined to establish contact with these Indians, but his dignity did not allow him to make another long expedition to a rendez-vous which might not be kept by them. It appears that he, together with some members of the Council and "several other gentlemen," had journeyed "as far as the mountains to meet the Indians, but they never came." (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXXV, p. 301.) Again, in July, 1726, the question of the "Sundry slaves" who had escaped to

the " Shuano Town," came up and seems to have been complicated by the question of the convicts, who were following their example. (*Ibid.*, p. 505.)

Hanna, in *The Wilderness Trail*, presents evidence to prove that the Shawnees abandoned their Potomac towns before 1732 (*The Wilderness Trail,* Vol. I, p. 165). Silence and solitude, broken occasionally by the arrival of war parties travelling along the Warriors' Path, took possession of the site of Opessa's Town, the " Indian fields deserted " grew up in thickets of sassafras bushes, locust saplings and scrub pines, and on the Maryland frontier, which was always pressing nearer, the place became known as " Old Town." At last, more than a decade after the Indians had left the spot, Captain Thomas Cresap, with an eye to the possibilities of trade with the war parties of the Five Nations, settled there—the first white settler of those parts.

(d)

Evidences of Shawnee Settlements in Baltimore County.

These evidences are far from being conclusive, being based largely on place and tract names; but, as the saying goes, I still think there is " something in them." First of all we find that, when that part of Baltimore County was first settled, the stream now known as Oregon Run bore the name of the Shawan Cabin Branch. This " run " was known as Shawan Run as late as the first part of the past century, and it was not until a couple of generations ago that it acquired its present name. It rises near a village called Shawan and empities into Beaver Dam Run near Cockeysville. I am not of the opinion that Shawan was so named because it lies on the site of a Shawnee town. I think it was named for the " branch " or " run " at the head of which it lies. But if there is anything in the theory that the Shawnee once had a settlement in this vicinity, the name of the place, Shawan, serves to commemorate the fact. A considerable part of the valley of Shawan Cabin Branch, or Oregon Run, was taken up in an original tract of land called

" The Shawan Hunting Ground." At the head of Oregon Run lies another original tract, " Sepus's Town." This name is, perhaps, suggestive of a bare possibility that the Indian town, if any there was, was situated here, and that " Sepus " was the name of the head man of the place. Between Shawan and Cockeysville there were formerly located some fields called " The Indian Old Fields." These " Indian Old Fields," in so far as I have been able to determine, were within the watershed of Oregon Run at a distance of about two miles or something less, from Shawan. Between four and five miles south east of Shawan are the headquarters of Rowland's Run, which flows past Riderwood and Ruxton and originally discharged into Jone's Falls, but now empties into Lake Rowland, to which it has given its name. This run heads up in two branches, one of which rises at Timonium, the other about a mile and a half west of that place. When this part of Baltimore County was first opened to settlement, one of these head Branches of Rowlands Run was called the Shawan or Shenese Glade.

The theory which suggests itself to me is that these names are due to small settlements of the Shawnee Indians, which the first white settlers discovered at the head of Rowland's Run and on Oregon Run, in Baltimore County. The Indian old fields were the abandoned fields of these people. There is no reason whatever to suppose that their settlements were very ancient, when first discovered. On the contrary, it seems to me entirely probable, granted that they ever existed, that these Indian villages or camps were founded by dissatisfied or by simply weary members of Martin Chartier's band of Shawnees, which, as we have already called to mind, appeared in Cecil County, Maryland, in the summer of 1692. By what route they arrived at their destination is not certainly known, and it cannot be said definitely that they did not come down into Maryland from Pennsylvania. Our supposition is linked with the theory that the Shawnee towns of the Potomac were built by members of this band, after which the more restless ones moved on to the eastward.

The following land records relate to "Shawan Hunting Ground," the Shawan Cabin Branch, the Indian Old Fields, the Shawan Glade, etc.:

Thomas Todd's certificate, 1500 acres, "The Shewan Hunting Ground," surveyed August 11th, 1714, "lying in Baltimore County in the woods betwixt the falls of Patapsco and the falls of Gunpowder River, beginning at three bounded white oaks and a bounded black oak standing on a narrow point betwixt two springs on the north side of a branch called the Shewan Cabin Branch, the said branch being a branch of Gunpowder River." (From the certificate of survey filed at the Land Office, Annapolis, Md.)

John Price's certificate, 250 acres, "Sepus's Town," surveyed December 23rd 1720, beginning at the beginning trees of the land surveyed for Mr. Thomas Todd" (meaning "The Shewan Hunting Ground"). This land was resurveyed for John Price in 1770 under the name of "Sepus's Town Enlarged" and included two other original tracts, "Pleasant Ridge" and "Price's Reserve." "Pleasant Ridge," surveyed for Mordecai Price, lies at the head of Deadman's Run. These facts tend to locate "Sepus's Town" at the head of Oregon Run (Shawan Cabin Branch). These notes from certificates of survey filed at the Land Office.

Plat Book No. 3, Plat No. 37, Towson, Md. Plat of "Shawan Farm," belonging to the Worthington heirs. Lies on Shawan Road and on Shawan Run (Oregon Run).

March 7th, 1737: house built on west side of Gunpowder Falls on a run called the Shawwan Cabbin branch on a tract belonging to John and Thomas Colegate (i. e., "John and Thomas's Forest") recorded as meeting house for Quakers. (Note: I have been unable to find my reference for this record. My impression is that I copied this note from the Baltimore County Court Proceedings of the above date). Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore County, 1877, shows Friends Meeting House on Oregon Run between Oregon and Cockeysville.

"John and Thomas's Forest," 1687 acres, surveyed for Richard Colegate April 20th, 1720, "on ye south side of ye main falls of Gunpowder River, beginning at three bounded white oaks and a bounded black gum on a narrow point between two springs on ye north side of a branch called The Shawan Cabin Branch descending into ye said ffalls, be said bounded trees being ye first boundaries of ye lands of Thomas Todd called the Shawan Hunting Ground. (Copied from certificate of survey filed at the Land Office.)

"Long Tract," 150 acres, surveyed for John Price, March 20th, 1720, lying on the south side of the main falls of Gunpowder River and on a branch called Showan Cabin Branch, beginning at the beginning trees of a parcel of land surveyed for Thomas Todd (i. e., "The Shawan Hunting Ground"). Reference: same as above.

"Nicholson's Manor," 4200 acres, surveyed for William Nicholson June 20th, 1719, lying in Baltimore County, beginning at four bounded white

oaks standing eight perches distant from a large spring called the Salt Spring descending into the Western Run of Gunpowder between a branch called the Shawan Cabin branch and a branch called Water Spout Branch. (Same reference as above.)

"Price's Good Luck," 20 acres, surveyed for Stephen Price September 29th, 1760, lying in Baltimore County in the Reserve, "beginning at a bounded hickory tree standing by the Indian Old Fields." (Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Unpatented Certificate No. 1309, Baltimore County.)

"Price's Chance," surveyed for Stephen Price January 8th, 1774, 38 acres, being a resurvey on twenty acres of leased land called "Price's Good Luck," originally, September 29th, 1760 laid out for the said Price; beginning for the resurvey at the beginning tree of the aforesaid leased land, being a bounded hickory tree standing by the Indian Old fields." (Copied from the certificate of survey filed at the Land Office, Annapolis, Md.)

"Long Look," 150 acres, surveyed for Stephen Price, February 14th, 1724/5, lying on the south side of the main falls of Gunpowder River, beginning at two bounded hickories standing in the fork of a small branch descending into a branch called Shawan Cabbin Branch." (Same reference as foregoing.)

"Long Look," 104½ acres, surveyed for Stephen Price, May 15, 1795, composed of two original tracts of land, namely, "Long Look," originally, October 13th, 1729, granted to said Price for 150 acres, and "Price's Chance," 38 acres, originally, March 16, 1774, granted to said Price. The surveyor finds that two acres and eighteen perches of the original "Long Look" lie in an elder survey called "Jerah" (meaning "Gerar," surveyed for Thomas Hooker August 29, 1715, on Beaverdam Run. This was lately a Merryman place and lies near Cockeysville). The surveyor further finds that 103½ acres of the original "Long Look" lie in an elder survey called "Nicholson's Manor."

"Port Mareen," 123 acres, surveyed for Thomas Carr, December 22, 1714, "lying in Baltimore County in the woods on the north side of a river called Patapsco and on a run called Rowlands Runn and on the north side of a hill called Setter Hill, beginning at a bounded red oak standing on the west side of a glade descending into the aforesaid run called Rowlands Run called Showan Glade." (Copied from the certificate filed at the Land Office, Annapolis, Md.)

"Pearces ffolley," surveyed for William Pearce, July 16, 1716, "lying in Baltimore County in the woods betwixt Patapsco falls and Gunpowder falls and nigh a tract of land called Chesley" (meaning "Selsed," surveyed for Rowland Thornbury), "beginning at a bounded red oak standing by a glade called by the (name of) Shawan glade." (Same reference as foregoing.)

"Hunter's Purchase," 100 acres, surveyed for Thomas Carr, July 30, 1718, lying in Baltimore County, "beginning at a bounded red oak of the land called Port Mareen and three bounded hickories standing on the west

side of a meadow called Shawan Meadow descending into a run called Rowlands Run." (Same reference as foregoing.)

"The Regulation," surveyed for Thomas Carr, September 1, 1744. Resurvey on "Port Mareen" and "Hunter's Purchase." Mention of the "Shawan Glade." (Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Patents, Liber L. G. No. E., folio 534.)

Thomas Ford's land commission on a tract of land called "Selsed," situated in Baltimore County. Depositions taken February 13, 1762. Richard Hooker deposes that thirty years before John Boring told him that the fourth tree of "Selsed" should stand "in a purcoson (swamp) near the Shenese Glade." Absalom Barney deposes that William Welsh told him the fourth tree of "Selsed" stood "in or near the Shenese Glade." (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, folio 329 et seq. This valuable book has been missing from the office of the Superior Court Clerk in the Baltimore Court House for the past six years and can not now be located.)

"July 31, 1699, surveyed for Rowland Thornbury, Selsed, on the north west branch of Jones Falls—900 acres. Resurveyed Oct., 1747, for William Cockey by Thomas White; but Selsed as settled is limited as follows, beginning as above at a bounded white oak by the north west branch of Jones Falls and runs south eighty-nine degrees west two hundred and eighty-five perches to the 2nd boundary of Selsed, north twenty-six degrees west one hundred and ninety-five perches to a bounded maple the 3rd boundary of Selsed, north seventeen and one fourth degrees west sixty eight perches, north north east fifty perches, north east twenty eight perches, east two hundred and forty four perches, north one hundred and ninety perches east ninety four perches east south east one hundred and five perches to a swampy glade more seven perches across the glade more ten perches to a mark more one hundred and twenty eight perches *to the west side of Shawan Glade* more twenty four perches across this glade more forty four perches, then south twelve degrees east four perches to a small white oak being near where stood the 4th boundary of Selsed as now proved by sundry evidences," etc., etc. (From a manuscript in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, which formerly belonged to Barrister Carroll and is styled "Collection of Land Certificates chiefly in Baltimore and Anne Arundell Counties, to which is added a List of Postponed Certificates from the years 1703 to 1734." This resurvey contained 1577 acres. So far as I can determine, "Selsed" lies above Riderwood. It lies on Rowland's Run, the name of which is derived from Rowland Thornbury.

(To be Continued.)

THE BALTIMORE CLIPPER AND THE STORY OF AN OLD BALTIMORE SHIPBUILDER.

By James E. Hancock.

"Should you ask me whence these stories
Whence these legends and traditions—
I should answer, I should tell you—
I repeat them as I heard them."

This abstract from the prologue to *Hiawatha* fittingly expresses the purpose of this paper to record certain data, including the recollection of things that were told to me by retired sea captains who knew the maritime traditions of old Baltimore and who had sailed Baltimore Clippers and clipper ships from polar sea to polar sea and to the antipodes. In developing the matter, however, it has seemed worth while to describe certain phases in the evolution of boats, whose story goes back to the time when primitive men first found that they could transport themselves by water and then found that they could use poles and paddles to control their crude floats. Later they found that they could make use of the force of wind to help them on their journeys and that this happened at an early period is evidenced by sculptured remains on the tombs of ancient Egypt of vessels equipped with a simple rectangular sail of papyrus or cloth that was suspended from a pole.

The early Phoenicians probably learned of the sail from the Egyptians, and from them in turn, its use was observed by the Greeks and the Romans as they emerged from barbarism. These early peoples along the Mediterranean were the noted traders of antiquity and, for cargo purposes, their boats were quite broad in proportion to their length. These clumsy tubs were propelled by sweeps or oars and were captained by their merchant owners, who gradually found that they could get some force from the wind when it was not directly astern, by tilting the sail; and we see by their early art that the sails were assuming a rhomboidal shape because they could be handled more

easily by a small crew than the square sail. Eventually this became the lateen rig of the Mediterranean, but when commercial wars broke out between the Greeks and the Phoenicians and later between the Romans and the Carthagenians, these nations began to build galleys that were narrower than their trading boats, so that they could be maneuvered more quickly in combat, by the rowers.

These galleys had castellated bows and sterns from which the soldiers fought while the rowers were banked in tiers, four and five deep, amidship; but when Rome began to extend its dominions along the Atlantic, her traders who traveled to Britain and elsewhere soon found that the galley, with its shallow draught and lofty superstructure was unsafe on the high seas and that the square sail was better than the lateen rig for ocean work. Consequently their trading vessels, while retaining the high forecastle and sterncastle of the galley, were built of broader beam and this type was used by the Vikings and others along the Atlantic for the thousand or more years that followed.

In the breakdown of the Roman Empire, Venice and Genoa had succeeded to its commerce in the Mediterranean, and when the Turks took Constantinople in 1453 and disrupted the caravan routes from the East upon which these factors depended, the influence of Venice and Genoa was diminished; but not before Genoa had developed a vessel that could be propelled by sails alone. Previously the sail had been but an auxiliary to the oarsmen, and when there was no longer any need for man power, the high walled sides that contained the rowers benches were cut down in the waist, leaving the high forecastle and sterncastle as a protection against the waves and as an emplacement for the cannon that had come into use. This accentuated the awkwardness of the vessel with its wide, rounded bottom, and when they began to build longer hulls and needed more sail for these larger vessels, they placed a square sprit sail in the bow and later rigged a lateen sail to a mizzenmast. Such was the type that was commonly used by the maritime people of Europe when the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope and Co-

lumbus discovered America, and in these bluff bowed ships with big sheer and a high stern—The Caravel—the early colonists came to America. These ships were fairly staunch, with considerable cargo space but there was so much water resistance at the bow with a corresponding drag aft, that they could not make much speed; yet this broad beamed and lumbering type of hull with slight modification persisted until after the Baltimore Clipper had come into its own.

With the opening of these new trade routes to India and America, the Dutch had largely succeeded to the trade of the Hanseatic league and when the commerce of Spain broke down because of its many wars, Holland took over most of her trade; and, by 1609, when the Netherlands obtained its independence from Spain, Amsterdam had become the greatest maritime centre of the world. Here along the North Sea, where every cloud that crossed the sun raised a breeze that disturbed the water, the Dutch had been developing a triangular sail that was different from both the lateen rig of the Mediterranean and the square sail of the Caravel and the merchants of the Netherlands found that these sails were well adapted for their small vessels on the rivers and canals that threaded the land. For open sea work, however, they still held to the big bellied square sailed ships like the *Half Moon* in which Henry Hudson explored the American Coast and established a colony at New Amsterdam. Knowing the utility of the fore and aft riggers to which they were accustomed, these Dutch settlers, in 1615, built a little sloop of 16 tons for trading with the Indians. In this they explored the New England Coast and the Delaware Bay, and later this little sloop was loaded with furs and sailed across the broad Atlantic to Holland. Although the Dutch were dispossessed of their colonies in what is now New York, New Jersey and Delaware in 1664, their sloops had found favor with the colonists in New England and on the Chesapeake, who adopted it as a superior rig for their waters. In 1713 the first schooner was launched at Gloucester, Mass., and this direct evolution from the single masted sloop was brought about by

moving the foremast further up into the bow when the hull was lengthened and extending the boom to take care of the jibsail. The hull, however, still remained bluff bowed and stiff-kneed and was heavily timbered so that the vessel could buffet the waves and ride out the gales while the men were fishing on the banks.

But along the Chesapeake, the needs were different. Here was an inland sea with tide water tributaries, whose shore line was nearly 3000 miles long. The prevailing winds were not only more equable, but life in Maryland was not as vigorous as it was in New England, and the planters who had settled along the bay front and on the rivers that flowed into the Chesapeake led more leisurely lives. They used boats for social purposes as well as to carry their tobacco and grain to the wharves where the ocean going vessels lay and very naturally the rivers and creeks were more agreeable thoroughfares than the muddy and rutty roads that ran behind the waterways. Almost every plantation of any size had its blacksmith and its carpenter and, with plenty of labor, the planters along the rivers built their sloops as fancy dictated. Many of these craft, it is true, were small open boats, but the men along the Chesapeake were boat conscious and they built into them their own conceits; and when they found that a small boat with certain features could sail faster than their neighbors, they would build its details into a decked 45 or 50 footer. Naturally, some men proved more adept than others and fitted up small yards on the many coves and creeks that ran into these rivers, and not needing vessels that had to buffet high waves, the lighter hulls of the Chesapeake gradually took on more graceful lines, whose bows cut through the water instead of bucking it. Although their low freeboard made them wet ships, nevertheless, during the French and Indian wars when England was fighting France and Spain on the ocean, many of these Chesapeake Bay craft, rigged as sloops, brigs or little two-masted schooners were sent to the West Indies with foodstuffs and materials that the islanders could not obtain from their mother countries and brought

back sugar, molasses, cotton and other supplies that our colonists needed, or for reshipment to England. Very generally these vessels carried one or more guns and service on these armed merchantmen was the practical school for the large number of Baltimore privateersmen during the Revolution that followed.

Differing from almost every other port along the coast at that time, Baltimore had an abundance of timber and iron which were the two essentials for shipbuilding; while cotton for sails could be gotten in trade with the West Indies. When the Revolutionary War broke out and Congress needed ships, the first vessels for the continental navy were not only equipped and manned in Baltimore but Maryland supplemented the Continental Navy with a state navy of its own composed of twenty-five armed vessels, for local protection. On March 23rd, 1776, Congress also authorized the use of privateers and Baltimore sent out about 250 of these privately armed vessels that captured guns, ammunition and other supplies which helped to keep the army in the field. These Chesapeake Bay craft were often referred to in our local maritime history as of pilot boat construction and they evidently made an impression on the officers who served with the French fleet during the seige of Yorktown, because the sailing ability of the *Bateau d'Amerique,* as they called our sloops, was favorably compared in a French naval report of 1783, with that of the English revenue cutters, which kept inside the English and Irish Channels while our sloops sailed the high seas.

In reaction to the revolution, the American people were seemingly prosperous for a year or so after the war and then they awoke to the reality that they had not won that independence which had really induced them to fight. The Treaty of Peace practically confined the commerce of the United States to its own territory and in consequence the farmers were producing more than the people could consume. Continetnal money was worthless and what coin the merchants had been able to save was soon exhausted by purchases of needed materials abroad. This brought on the depression of 1785 that culminated in the

panic of 1791; and while the rest of the country suffered severely, Baltimore was favored by particular circumstances. In 1780, Congress had agreed to feed the Spanish forces in the West Indies and Maryland flour and grain was selected as an important item in this work. Shortly afterwards, the British began their campaign in the south and with Charleston and other ports along the southern coast in possession of the enemy or under their surveillance, Baltimore became the centre of supplies for the West Indies. Because of the cargoes of raw sugar that were brought back to this port, a sugar refinery was built in Baltimore, in 1784, and when commerce was reestablished with Europe, this sugar supplemented the exports of Maryland tobacco, grain and flour. In this way Baltimore became an entrepot between the West Indies and Europe, and by 1800, our merchants dominated the trade with the islands. In the meantime the French Revolution had occurred and in the European wars that followed, the shipping of the United States was the only neutral commerce that was left on the Atlantic and demands for Baltimore supplies and foodstuffs were heavily increased.

In those days the usual overseas merchantmen averaged 200 tons burthen or less and as these Chesapeake sloops were developed into schooners, so the schooners became the immediate predecessors of the Baltimore Clippers, whose origin is commonly attributed by those who do not know the maritime history of Baltimore, to the presumed visits of French luggers to this port. Personally I doubt that any of these French luggers came to Baltimore during our post revolutionary period, and my tradition of this French influence on the evolution of the Baltimore Clipper is as follows:

Joseph Despeaux was born at Barbas, on the shores of the Garonne, above Bordeaux, in 1758, and after serving as a volunteer officer of marine in the French navy he became a partner, in 1784, of Jean David, who operated a shipyard at Cap Français, San Domingo. David died in 1787, and Despeaux purchased the remaining interest in what was practically the repair

station of the French fleet in western waters. When the San Domingo revolution occurred and the blacks began to massacre the whites at Cap Français, Joseph Despeaux, with his wife and two infant sons and nine slaves—eight men and one woman —put out to sea in the yard boat, where they were picked up by an English brig and landed in Philadelphia, July 9th, 1793. There being a law against slavery in Philadelphia, Despeaux took counsel with Stephen Girard, whom he had known as a boy on the banks of the Garonne, and was advised to go to Baltimore in order to keep his party together until they could return to Cap Français, where Despeaux had left four ships on the ways besides other valuable property. Fortunately, Despeaux carried considerable gold coin in his money belt with which he was able to establish a shipyard on Philpot Street. This yard fronted one hundred and eighty feet and had over 500 feet of platform and wharfway and, as his men slaves were all shipwrights, he was soon at work building vessels. Being a Frenchman there is no doubt that he was influenced by the policies of Minister Genet because I find among his papers a notice from Lt. Samuel Grove, executive officer of the *H. M. S. Roebuck,* dated December 20th, 1794, advising him that the *Sans Culotte* had been captured by the Zebra and was being sent to England and that Jacques Brun, the prizemaster of this French privateer, had that day died of his wounds. Tradition has it that the *Sans Culotte* was outfitted by Despeaux, and as the United States was on the verge of war with Breat Britain at the time, American sympathy for France was very keen.

Familiar with the improvements in French naval structure, Despeaux also knew the utility of raking masts and lug sails, and feeling the need of his native country in its war with England, he fitted his knowledge to the trim hull work that prevailed around Baltimore and began to build blockade runners to French ports. Deepening the hold for additional cargo space, he noticed that this increased deadrise gave an extra leverage for sail strain. Other shipbuilders saw the advantage of his innovations and thus the sloop-rigged Chesapeake pilot boat with its low freeboard was progressively developed into the

typical Baltimore Clipper—a two-masted schooner with close fitting sails, carrying a square topsail on her foremast. The Baltimore Clippers were usually supplied with long oars or sweeps to help the crew to maneuver them in luffing or when in a difficult position and very naturally some of these craft were rigged as brigs or brigantines, which were popular types of the period. The great deadrise of their lean low hulls, broad beamed above the water line forward of the centre but sharp in the bow and deep aft, permitted them to carry a large area of canvas on their light and long raking masts, without drifting. Their ability to sail close to the wind made them the swift sea hornets that stung British commerce so viciously during the War of 1812 and before that war was over many Baltimore Clippers were carrying double topsails to increase their speed in light weather and to help them escape when too closely chased. Although at a later period, Baltimore Clippers were sometimes dangerously overriged with top gallants and royals, their general ability gained them a reputation for speed that did more than anything else to reform the centuries old stereotyped lines of vessels throughout the world.

In 1810 Despeaux built the ship *Alexander* which made several successful voyages to France under the command of Captain Wilson Jacobs, who afterwards commanded the famous privateer Kemp out of Baltimore. On May 23rd, 1812, the *Alexander* left Bordeaux for her return voyage but was chased by the British and had to put into Boston. War between the United States and Great Britain was declared on June 18th and on August 4th the cargo of the *Alexander* was auctioned at the Long Room India Wharf and the vessel was advertised for sale as follows: "The said ship *Alexander,* with all of her appurtenances, as she came from sea—103 feet long on deck, 28½ feet beam, about 309 tons burthen, well calculated for a Privateer or a Letter of Marque, built in Baltimore twenty two months since and is presumed will sail equal to any vessel out of the United States—coppered and copper fastened and armed with Guns, Blunderbusses, Pistols, Boarding Pikes, etc." Other arrangements were made, however, and Salem parties took a

4/5 interest whiles Despeaux retained a 1/5 interest in her. The terms for her privateering was one-half to the owners and one-half to the crew, and on October 3rd, the *Alexander* was reregistered at Salem and sailed under the command of Captain Benjamin Crowninshield. The *Alexander* carried an armament of 18 guns and was manned by a crew of one hundred and twenty and probably her most interesting exploit was the capture in the English Channel of the *Invincible Napoleon,* a French privateer that had been previously captured by the British. The *Invincible Napoleon* was manned by a prize crew and sent to America, but she was recaptured by two British frigates off Cape Ann as she was trying to make port but she was again taken from the British at sea by an American privateer.

The *Alexander* captured seven prizes on her last cruise but was chased ashore in Wells Bay, May 20th, 1813, by two British men-of-war—the *Rattler* and the *Bream*—who recaptured over a hundred prisoners that the *Alexander* had taken. The *Alexander* was afterwards refloated by the British and sent into Halifax but I am sure that, if her crew had not been depleted by the withdrawals that were needed to man her prizes, she would have escaped the enemy and continued her interesting career. Unfortunately the *Alexander* is credited in Navy Annals to Salem because she sailed as a privateer from that port, but she was built in Baltimore, and I am sorry to say that her model that used to hang above the door of the Seamen's Bethel when I was a boy has disappeared.

As I remember this model it had the clipper lines but was ship rigged, and I was often taken to look at her by old sea captains who had sailed Baltimore Clippers and clipper ships and who told me that she was the first clipper ship that was ever built. Despeaux also built and owned the schooners *Freemason, The Joseph, The Panama,* the brigs *Frances Ursula, The Mary Ann* and the ship *Father and Son*—a sister ship of the *Alexander*—and was part owner of several others, including the privateer *Caroline,* out of Baltimore. The record shows further that the *Father and Son* was commissioned as a priva-

teer, February 11th, 1813, under Captain Wilson Jacobs, who had previously commanded the *Alexander* and that this clipper ship was driven ashore in a gale off Havre, December 15th, 1816, and was a total loss.

A copy of Vattell's Law of Nations (1805) bears witness to Despeaux's widespread interests and that he kept contact with things abroad is evidenced by a copy of the *Almanach de La Cour de France* for 1811, which contains the names of the civil and military dignitaries of Napoleon's Court, including that of a cousin, General Despeaux, Commandant of the 20th Division of the French Army with headquarters at Perigueux. Other records reveal the fact that the frigate *L'Poursivante,* Admiral Willaumez, under whom Jerome Bonaparte served, and also the French frigate which loaned the 42-inch guns that kept the British fleet at a respectable distance during the bombardment of Fort McHenry, were docked at Despeaux's Wharf; and that Joseph Despeaux with his sons John and Elie served in the marine artillery that manned these guns in the water battery of the fort. The yard journal also shows that during the War of 1812 *The Wasp, The Asp, The Ontario, The Rover, The Ranger, The Non Such,* and a number of gunboats of the blue and white squadrons were in Despeaux's yard to be outfitted or repaired, and an interesting feature concerning these gunboats is that they were distinguished by numbers instead of by names, a practice that was revived in more recent years for the smaller vessels in the U. S. Navy.

Joseph Despeaux's death in 1820 was followed by that of his son John in 1826, and although the business was continued by Joseph's widow, the real genius was gone and it was finally sold to Abrahams and Cooper, May 4th, 1844, who turned out more of the well reputed clipper ships of the succeeding period than any other yard in Baltimore. These clipper ships were larger than the Baltimore Clippers but, as in the case of the *Alexander,* they were built by placing the square ship rig on clipper hulls and later these clipper ships increased the number of their masts to four and more. I also have the record of the *Ferrata* that was outfitted in1827 and which was said to be

the first three-masted schooner in the world and it is interesting to think that the greater tonnage of these larger vessels played an important part in meeting the demands of a heavily increased foreign trade that followed. During the 1840's and 50's the merchant marine of the United States rivaled that of Great Britain and about three-quarters of our commerce was carried in American bottoms; but the Civil War definitely checked the growth of American shipbuilding and after the war was over, the capital that would ordinarily have been invested in overseas trade was poured into the railroads and other projects for opening up the western country.

But it was the Baltimore Clipper with its fore and aft rig on raking masts and stem that gave the real impetus to American shipbuilding. Not only did it change the olden lines of naval architecture but it established the commercial prestige of Baltimore. This port immediately became a noted maritime centre and during the war with France, *The Constellation*—The Yankee Race Horse, as the French called her—*The Maryland, The Baltimore, The Chesapeake, The Patapsco, The Montezuma, The Enterprise* and several others were built in Baltimore for the reorganized U. S. Navy. About one-third of the ships that were in the U. S. Navy in 1812 were built in Baltimore and Maryland furnished one-fifth of the officers and one-eighth of the men who served in the navy during that war. When Congress authorized the use of privateers as a volunteer auxiliary of the navy, more of these privately armed ships were commissioned in Baltimore than in any other port, while many ships that were credited to other cities were either built in Baltimore or from Baltimore models. The naval annals of no country surpass in bravery the deeds that were performed by Baltimore privateersmen during the early wars of the Republic and Maryland is proud of Joshua Barney, Stephen Decatur, John Rodgers, Alexander Murray and a score of others who served on privateers before they were called into the regular naval service; and of Boyle, Stafford, Levely and others who commanded Baltimore Clippers during the War of 1812. Many of these men went into the merchant marine after these wars were over

and carried the Stars and Stripes around the world, and by 1810 Baltimore had become the third city of commercial importance in America. Largely due to the influence of Baltimore Clippers the population of this city was progressively doubled each decade, between 1790 and 1840, and one of the incentives for building the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—the first railroad in America—was to provide an outlet for the cargoes that were brought back to this port by Baltimore Clippers. In recent years, iron and steam have largely pushed the old wooden ships off the ocean and the art of seamanship has become a more prosaic occupation of taking the shortest route between two ports. But to the fame of this fair city those graceful creations which seemed " as if about to rise and fly in the air " had become known around the world by the distinctive name of Baltimore Clippers and their reputation still lingers in the minds of those who love the romance of the sea.

EARLY MARYLAND NEWSPAPERS.†

A List of Titles

compiled by

George C. Keidel, Ph. D.

Entries prefixed with an * are in Maryland Historical Society's Collection.

(Continued from Vol. XXIX, p. 322.)

Additions

1805

Baltimore Evening Post; Mercantile Daily Advertiser.

1807

[Baltimore] Anti-Democrat.

[Baltimore] North American and Mercantile Daily Advertiser.

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[Easton] People's Monitor.
Fell's Point Commercial Advertiser.
Fell's Point Federal Union.

1808

[Easton] People's Monitor.

1809

[Frederick] Freemen of Frederick.

1813

[Baltimore] National Museum and Weekly Gazette.

1814

[Baltimore] National Museum and Weekly Gazette.
* Baltimore Patriot and Evening Advertiser.

1816

* Baltimore Telegraphe.
[Easton] People's Monitor.
[Uniontown] Star of Federalism.

1818

* [Baltimore] Journal of the Times.

1820

* [Annapolis] Religious and Literary Repository.

1825

Chestertown Telegraph.

1826

Chestertown Telegraph.
[Chestertown] Telegraph.

1827

[Baltimore] North American, or, Weekly Journal of Politics, Science and Literature.
[Chestertown] Telegraph.

1828

[Chestertown] Telegraph.

1829

[Chestertown] Telegraph.
[Easton] Star-Democrat.
[Frederick] Political Examiner and Public Advertiser.

1830

[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
[Chestertown] Telegraph.

1831

[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.

1832

[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
Chestertown Inquirer.

1833

Baltimore Episcopal Methodist.
[Bel-Air] Mirror of Mirth.
[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
[Taney-Town] Maryland Recorder.

1834

* Baltimore Athenaeum.
[Baltimore] Saturday Evening Star.
[Belle-Air] Mirror of Mirth.
[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
Easton Gazette.
Hagerstown Free Press.

1835

* Baltimore Athenaeum.
[Baltimore] Weekly Critic.
[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
Easton Gazette.

1836

* [Baltimore] Eastern Express.
[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
Easton Gazette.

1837

* [Baltimore] Eastern Express.
[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
Easton Gazette.
[Manchester] Messenger.

1838

* [Baltimore] Southern Universalist, devoted to religion, morality, and rights of man.
Baltimorer Intelligenzblatt.
[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
Easton Gazette.
Hagerstown Courier and Enquirer.
[Hagerstown] Washington County Democrat.

1839

[Annapolis] Democratic Herald.
[Baltimore] Allgemeine Deutsche Schulzeitung.
Baltimore Athenaeum & Visiter.
[Centreville] Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.
Easton Gazette.

1840

[Annapolis] Democratic Herald.
[Baltimore] Allgemeine Deutsche Schulzeitung.
Baltimore Spy.
[Centreville] Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.

1841

[Annapolis] Democratic Herald.

1842

[Annapolis] Democratic Herald.
[Williamsport] Republican Banner.

1843

[Annapolis] Democratic Herald.
[Baltimore] American Whig.
Baltimore Republican and Argus.
[Cumberland] Maryland Gazette.
[Ellicott's Mills] Howard Free Press.

1844

[Annapolis] Democratic Herald.
Baltimore Republican and Argus.
[Ellicott's Mills] Howard Free Press.

1845

[Annapolis] Democratic Herald.
[Ellicott's Mills] Howard Free Press.
* Westminster Carroltonian.

1846

[Annapolis] Democratic Herald.
[Baltimore] Eastern Baltimore Mail.
[Baltimore] Katholische Kirchen-Zeitung.
* [Baltimore] Western Continent.
[Centreville] Times and Advertiser.
[Westminster] Carroll County Democrat.

1847

[Annapolis] Democratic Herald.
[Baltimore] Maryland Temperance Herald.
[Baltimore] Katholische Kirchen-Zeitung.
[Hagerstown] Weekly Herald of Freedom.
[Rockville] Maryland Reformer.
[Westminster] Carroll County Democrat.

1848

Baltimore Saturday Visiter.
[Bel Air] Harford Gazette.
[Hagerstown] Weekly Herald of Freedom.
[Westminster] Carroll County Democrat.

1849

[Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.
Baltimore Saturday Visitor.
* [Baltimore] Western Continent.
[Bel Air] Harford Gazette.
[Hagerstown] Weekly Herald of Freedom.
[Westminster] Carroll County Democrat.
[Williamsport] Modern Times and Home Journal.

1850

[Annapolis] Civil, Military, and Naval Gazette.
[Baltimore] Wecker.
[Ellicott's Mills] Howard Free Press.
[Westminster] American Sentinel.
[Westminster] Carroll County Democrat.
[Williamsport] Modern Times and Home Journal.

1851

[Baltimore] Dental Times and Advertiser.
[Baltimore] Traveller.

1852

[Annapolis] Maryland State Capital Gazette.
[Baltimore] Dental Times and Advertiser.
[Reisterstown] Baltimore County Whig.

1853

[Hagerstown] Herald of Freedom.

1854

[Baltimore] Bote der Neuen Kirche.

[Baltimore] Spirit of '76.
* Baltimore Weekly.

1855

Baltimore Weekly Dispatch.
[Baltimore] Täglicher Baltimore Wecker.

1856

Baltimore Weekly Dispatch.
[Cumberland] Miners Journal.
[Frederick] Weekly Herald.

1857

[Baltimore] American Democrat.
[Belair] Southern Aegis and Intelligencer.
Centreville Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.
[Cumberland] Miners Journal.
[Ellicott's Mills] Rural Southerner.
[Frederick] Weekly Herald.
[Havre de Grace] Harford Madisonian and
Havre de Grace Advertiser.

1858

[Baltimore] American Democrat.
Baltimore Weekly Dispatch.
Centreville Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.
[Cumberland] Miners Journal.
[Frederick] Weekly Herald.
Frostburg Gazette and Miners' Record.
[Havre de Grace] Harford Madisonian and
Havre de Grace Advertiser.
[Princess Anne] Somerset Union.

1859

[Baltimore] American Democrat.
* [Baltimore, etc.] Washington Christian Advocate.
Baltimore Weekly American.
Baltimore Weekly Dispatch.

Centreville Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.
[Cumberland] Miners Journal.
* [Edgewood] Weekly Magpie. [Nos. 1-7 were issued in manuscript].
[Frederick] Weekly Herald.
[Havre de Grace] Harford Madisonian and Havre de Grace Advertiser.
[New Windsor] True American.
[Princess Anne] Somerset Union.
Salisbury Sentinel.
[Towsontown] Maryland Standard.
[Towsontown?] Possum Hollow Gazette.

1860

[Baltimore] American Democrat.
[Baltimore] Argus.
[Baltimore] Daily American.
[Baltimore] Religions-Freund.
[Baltimore, etc.] Washington Christian Advocate.
Baltimore Weekly American.
[Bel Air] National American.
[Boonsboro] Odd Fellow.
[Cambridge] Eagle.
[Cambridge] Weekly Intelligencer.
[Centreville] Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.
[Cumberland] Miners Journal.
[Frederick] Weekly Herald.
Frostburg Gazette.
[Havre de Grace] Harford Madisonian and Havre de Grace Advertiser.
[Havre de Grace] Harford Weekly Visitor.
Laurel Beacon.
[New Windsor] Carroll County Herald.
[Princess Ann] Patriot.
[Princess Ann] Somerset Union.
[Upper Marlboro] Advertiser.

CHEW FAMILY.

By Francis B. Culver.

Armorial Bearings.

Chew (of England).—*Argent, a chevron sable, on a chief azure three leopard's faces or* ("Thomas Book," pages 252-253).[1]

Chew (of "Cliveden," Pa.).—*Gules, a chevron or, on a chief of the second three leopard's faces proper* (*Zieber*).[2]

The origin of the Chew family arms is obscure. Likewise, we encounter a difficulty in attempting to establish positively the place of nativity of John Chew, ancestor of the Maryland family. Chew Hundred, embracing the parishes of Chew Magna and Chewstoke, and Chewton Hundred, embracing the parishes of Chewton-Mendip and Chew Keynsham, were located in Somersetshire, England. At Chew Magna is Chew Court, the manorial mansion, and a few miles farther south are the ruins of Chew Priory, established under royal charter granted in the fourteenth century by Edward III. Chief Justice Benjamin Chew (1722-1810) named his countryseat, built in 1761 at Germantown, Pennsylvania, "Cliveden" (Cleveden) and there is a Clevedon in County Somerset. All of which seems to support the family tradition to the effect that the American Chew ancestor of this family came from Somersetshire, England. A certain John Chewe, Vicar of Walden St. Paul's (Abbots Walden), Hertfordshire, was buried 10 October 1558. There were Chews also in Lancashire. The "Somerset evidences" are not conclusive, of course; but there is every reason to believe that the family name Chew is a surname of local origin (*i. e.*, de Chewe).

[1] From "a miscellaneous collection of arms," reported by the Heralds' College of London.

[2] From the impress of the seal ring of Dr. Samuel Chew (1693-1743) of "Maidstone," Md., and later of Pennsylvania.

1. JOHN[1] CHEW came to Virginia in the ship *Charity* in 1621 or 1622 and his wife Sarah came about a year later in the *Sea Flower*. Both were living at Hog Island, opposite Jamestown, in 1624 (Hotten's "Emigrants," page 237).

He was a merchant and was evidently a man of substance since he owned a house at Jamestown shortly after his arrival, as is shown by a grant in 1624 to "John Chew, merchant," of one rood, nine poles, near his dwelling house in James City (Va. Mag., I. 87). In 1636 he had grants for some 1200 acres "in the County of Charles River," later called York County, and had probably been living in that locality for some years previously (Va. Mag., V. 341-342).

He represented Hog Island in the Virginia House of Burgesses 1623-1624 and 1627, and was a member for York County 1642-1644 (Colonial Va. Register, pages 53, 54, 63). He was also one of the justices of York County in 1624 and 1652 (Va. Mag., I. 197). His first wife Sarah died before 1651, and in that year he executed a deed (recorded in York County) in view of his intended marriage with Mrs. Rachel Constable (Va. Mag., I. 197). His sons Samuel and Joseph Chew are mentioned in the York County records in 1657 and 1659 respectively, and it appears from the same records that in 1668 John Chew was dead and his son Samuel was living in Anne Arundel County, Maryland.

John Chew and Sarah his first wife had issue, with perhaps other children, as follows:

2. I. SAMUEL[2] CHEW, born *circa* 1630, died 15 March 1676/7 (*of whom later*).

II. Joseph[2] Chew, born 1637, died 12 February 1715/6; married 27 December 1669, Margaret (—) Mills, widow of Thomas Mills of Anne Arundel County, Maryland. The age of "Joseph Chew, Sr., of Anne Arundel County," is recorded, in 1713, as 76 years (*Chancery Records*, Annapolis, Liber PL., folio 19), and his nephew Samuel Chew recorded in the old Chew family Bible: "My onkel Joseph Chew died 12 February 1715/6, being . . . years of age." It has been assumed that Joseph Chew was the progenitor of the Larkin Chew family of Spotsylvania County, Virginia, through a hypothetical first marriage with a "Miss Larkin." In "The Thomas Book," by the Rev. Lawrence Buck-

ley Thomas, D. D., pages 276-284, under the caption "Chew, of Virginia," this line is traced from Larkin Chew through several generations.

2. Samuel[2] Chew (*John*[1]) was born about 1630 in Virginia, and died 15 March 1676/7 (old style) in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. He moved from Virginia to Maryland before 1659 and took up his abode in Anne Arundel County. He entered his rights, 16 July 1659, for transporting himself, Robert Crouch, Thomas Madders and Hannah Rogers, and received a warrant for 400 acres (Md. Land Office, Liber 4, folio 54).

He represented Anne Arundel County in the Maryland Assembly in 1661 (Md. Arch., I. 396), was High Sheriff of the county in 1663 (*ibid.,* III. 481), and was one of its justices in 1665 and 1668 (*ibid.,* III. 534; V. 30). He was commissioned, 23 July 1669, a member of the Council of Maryland and a justice of the Provincial Court (*ibid.,* V. 54), and retained his seat in the council until his death (Liber C. D., folio 427; Md. Arch., II. 254, 377, 433; XV. 23, 75, 109, *et seq.*). In 1675 he was Colonel of the militia of Anne Arundel County (Md. Arch., XV. 59) and in this capacity was ordered to raise forces for defence against the Indians (*ibid.,* 47). He was also a member of the Council of War which convened 20 July 1676. He died, according to his family record, on the 15th of March 1676/7 (old style), leaving, among other bequests, "his seale gold ring" to his brother Joseph Chew.

Col. Samuel Chew married, about 1658, Anne Ayres, only daughter and heiress of William Ayres of Nansemond County, Virginia, who came to Maryland with his family before June 1652. On the 5th of October 1653, "Mr. William Ayres" demands land for transporting himself, Sarah his wife (then deceased), Ann Ayres his daughter, and nine servants" before June 1652; and Martha his now wife, and Margaret Sammes, his servant, since June 1652 (Md. Land Office, Liber A. B. H., folio 348). On 6 June 1663, Samuel Chew assigns to Sarah Marsh any rights that remain upon record "due to my father-in-law William Ayres" (*ibid.,* Liber V, folios 338, 339), and there is upon record at Portsmouth, Va., a power of attorney

from "Samuel Chew, Esq., of Herrington, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, and Anne his wife sole daughter and heiress of Mr. William Ayres late of Nansemond County, Virginia, deceased" (Va. Mag., I. 197).

Mrs. Anne Chew survived her husband and died 13 April 1695. She was a prominent member of the Society of Friends, and their monthly meetings were long held at her house on Herring Bay. Col. Samuel and Anne (Ayres) Chew had issue as follows:

3. I. Samuel[3] Chew, born *circa* 1660, died 10 October 1718 (*of whom later*).
4. II. Joseph[3] Chew, born *circa* 1662/5, died 1 February 1704/5 (*of whom later*).
III. Nathaniel[3] Chew, died after 20 February 1695/6. He inherited "Poppinjay," 500 acres, in Calvert County, Md.
5. IV. William[3] Chew, died 28 February 1709/10 (*of whom later*).
6. V. Benjamin[3] Chew, born 12 April 1671, died 3 March 1699/1700 (*of whom later*).
VI. John[3] Chew, died 17 February 1696/7.
VII. Caleb[3] Chew, died 8 May 1698. He was in his nonage in 1695.
VIII. Sarah[3] Chew, died 1740; married Captain Edward Burgess.
IX. Anne[3] Chew, died 28 January 1699/1700.

3. Samuel[3] Chew (*Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born, about 1660, in Maryland and died 10 October 1718 in Anne Arundel County. By the terms of his father's will he inherited the home plantation "Herrington," on Herring Bay, and 300 acres called "Chew's Right," on Poplar Ridge. In his will dated 16 July and proved 31 October 1718 (Annapolis, Liber 14, folio 669), he is styled "merchant." His "landed estate," in addition to the tracts mentioned above, comprised "Ayres" (600 acres) at Herring Bay; "Wells," "Wells Hills," "West Wells" and "Little Wells" which he and Nehemiah Birckhead bought of George Wells; also, 318 acres bought of James Heath, being parts of "Burrage," "Burrage Blossom" and "Burrage's End"; and a parcel of land which he bought of Nathaniel Rigbie.

He married (1), 14 April 1682, Anne ——, who died 8 April 1702, and had issue (*infra*). He married (2), 29 June

1704, Elizabeth (—) Coale, widow of William Coale. She died 27 February 1709/10, *sine prole*. By his first wife Anne, Samuel Chew had issue as follows:

7. I. SAMUEL[4] CHEW, born 28 May 1683, died 31 October 1736 (*of whom later*).
II. Ann[4] Chew, born 2 July 1685, died 24 January 1694/5.
8. III. JOHN[4] CHEW, born 8 April 1687, died 1718 (*of whom later*).
IV. Joseph[4] Chew, born 1 April 1689, died young.
V. Benjamin[4] Chew, born 1 April 1689, died 18 April 1698.
9. VI. NATHANIEL[4] CHEW, born 5 August 1692, died 30 January 1727/8 (*of whom later*).
10. VII. JOSEPH[4] CHEW, born 28 April 1696, died February 1754 (*of whom later*).

4. JOSEPH[3] CHEW (*Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born about 1662/5 and died 1 February 1704/5 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. By the terms of his father's will he inherited a tract of 450 acres of land called "Sanetley." In Joseph Chew's will, proved 7 June 1705, the testator mentions his "son-in-law" (*i. e.*, stepson) Samuel Battee. He married (1), 17 November 1685, Mary Smith. He married (2), *ante* 1690, Mrs. Elizabeth (Hanslap) Battee [3] who was born about 1670 and died in 1716. She was one of the daughters of Henry Hanslap (died 1698) of Anne Arundel County. The will of Mrs. Elizabeth Chew, widow, was dated 23 April and proved 27 May 1716 (Annapolis, Liber 14, folio 96). She mentions her sons Samuel Battee, Joseph Chew and Henry Chew, who inherit the residue of her estate; her grandsons Joseph and Henry Chew; her granddaughter Elizabeth Chew; and her sister Susannah Gassaway. Her "brother" (*i. e.*, brother-in-law) Thomas Gassaway was appointed executor of the will, which requests that the testatrix be buried in Herring Creek graveyard.

Joseph and Elizabeth (Hanslap) Chew had issue as follows:

11. I. JOSEPH[4] CHEW, born 1689 (*of whom later*).
12. II. HENRY[4] CHEW, born 1693 (*of whom later*).

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[3] "The Thomas Book" and other authorities err in giving her maiden surname as "Gassaway."

5. William[3] Chew (*Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) died 28 February 1709/10 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. By the terms of his father's will he inherited a lot of ground in the town of Herrington.

He married, 20 December 1690, Sydney Wynn, daughter of Thomas and Martha Wynn of Pennsylvania, and had issue as follows:

13. I. Benjamin[4] Chew, born about 1700, died 1762 (*of whom later*).
II. Sydney[4] Chew, married Charles Pierpont (died 1748).

6. Benjamin[3] Chew (*Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 13 February 1670/1 and died 3 March 1699/1700. He married, 8 December 1692, Elizabeth Benson (born 1677), daughter of John and Elizabeth (Smith) Benson of Calvert County, Maryland. She married (2), 24 September 1702, Richard Bond of Calvert County, and died in 1725.

Benjamin and Elizabeth (Benson) Chew had issue as follows:

14. I. Samuel[4] Chew, born 30 October 1693 and died 16 June 1743 (*of whom later*).
II. Elizabeth[4] Chew, born 13 March 1694/5, died 9 February 1726/7; married 22 December 1710 Kensey Johns (1689-1729).
III. Ann[4] Chew, born 14 October 1696.
IV. Mary[4] Chew, born in December 1698.

7. Samuel[4] Chew (*Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 28 May 1683 and died 31 October 1736 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. He was a merchant, engaged in commerce and registered his own sailing vessels. He left to his three surviving sons the tracts "Ayres," "Carter Bennett," "Chew's Fortune," "Upper Bennett" and "Abington Manor."

He married, 26 August 1703, Mary Harrison, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth (Smith) Harrison, who was born 10 October 1684 and died 24 August 1725; and by her had issue as follows:

15. I. Samuel[5] Chew, born *circa* 1704, died 15 January 1736/7 (*of whom later*).
II. Ann[5] Chew, died 1777; married, 11 August 1724, Philip Thomas (1694-1762), son of Samuel and Mary Thomas.

III. Elizabeth[5] Chew, born 18 October 1709, died 29 July 1719.
IV. John[5] Chew, born 19 September 1711, died 21 March 1726/7.
V. Mary[5] Chew, born 1714, died 10 August 1770; married John Hepbourne.
16. VI. Richard[5] Chew, born May 1716, died 24 June 1769 (*of whom later*).
VII. Francis[5] Chew, died 24 May 1720.
17. VIII. Francis[5] Chew, born 1721, died 11 November 1775 (*of whom later*).
IX. Elizabeth[5] Chew, born 11 June 1725, died 25 June 1726.

8. John[4] Chew (*Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 8 April 1687 and died in 1718 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. He is styled "merchant," in the records.

John Chew is spoken of as deceased in the will of his father Samuel Chew dated 16 July 1718. His widow however did not take up the administration of his estate until November of that year, when she as administratrix filed a bond, bearing date of November 4th, in the amount of £3000 sterling (*Test. Proc.*, Annapolis, Liber 23, folio 257).

He married, in 1708, Elizabeth Harrison, who was a daughter of Richard and Elizabeth (Smith) Harrison, and a sister of Mary Harrison, the wife of John Chew's brother Samuel Chew. Mrs. Elizabeth Chew survived her husband and married, in 1722, Elihu Hall (*Friends* Records).

John and Elizabeth (Harrison) Chew had issue as follows:

18. I. Samuel[5] Chew, born *circa* 1709, died 1749 (*of whom later*).
II. Anne[5] Chew, born *circa* 1711, married 17 August 1727 Joseph Hopkins (1706-1784), a Quaker, and moved to Harford County, Maryland.
III. Sarah[5] Chew, married, 5 October 1732, Charles Worthington (1701-1774) of Harford County, Md.
IV. Mary[5] Chew, died 1779; married, 11 October 1736, Peregrine Ward (1709-1759) of Cecil County, Md. This marriage was performed in Baltimore County, but is recorded in the register of St. Stephen's Parish, Cecil County. The marriage was evidently an elopement, since the bride's family were Quakers. The officiating clergyman was the Rev. Stephen Wilkinson, rector of Spesutia Church, St. George's Parish, Baltimore (now Harford) County.

9. Nathaniel[4] Chew (*Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 5 August 1692 and died 30 January 1727/8 in Anne Arundel

County, Maryland. In his will dated 12 January and proved 21 February 1728 he mentions his brother Samuel Chew, Sr., and Samuel Chew of "Maidstone."

He married Mary —— (died 24 August 1728), and had issue as follows:

I. Nathaniel[5] Chew.
II. Joseph[5] Chew.
III. Ann[5] Chew.

10. Joseph[4] Chew (*Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 28 April 1696 and died February 1754. He married Sarah —— and had issue as follows:

I. Thomas[5] Chew.
II. Elizabeth[5] Chew.
III. Susannah[5] Chew.

11. Joseph[4] Chew (*Joseph*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born, about 1689, in Maryland and died, after 1756, in Virginia. By the terms of his father's will, proved 7 June 1705 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, he inherited (subject to an entail) the tracts of land called "Yarrow" (500 acres) and "Yarrow Head" (500 acres), lying on the north side of the Potomac River in Prince George's County; "Sanetley" (450 acres), and "Chew's Meadows" on the west side of the Patuxent (*Rent Rolls,* Calvert and Prince George's counties). After his second marriage, and before 1756, he moved to Virginia and lived at Alexandria.

He married (1), 23 January 1710, Mary Ford and (2) Mrs. Mercy (——) Mauduit, who survived him and died, about 1775, in Virginia. By his first wife, Joseph Chew had issue as follows:

19. I. Joseph[5] Chew (*of whom later*).
II. John[5] Chew, born 1713 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. He married, moved to Virginia, and had issue as follows:
(a) John[6] Chew, of Loudoun County, Va.
(b) Roger[6] Chew, of Alexandria, Va.
III. Henry[5] Chew.
IV. Samuel[5] Chew.
V. Elizabeth[5] Chew, married Richard Weightman.

12. HENRY[4] CHEW (*Joseph*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born in 1693, and moved to Calvert County, Maryland. By the terms of his father's will he inherited (subject to entail) the tracts of land called " The Perches " and " Arches Meadows " in Calvert County, Maryland. He was ancestor of the Harford County Chews.

He married Elizabeth —— and had issue as follows:

I. Henry[5] Chew, moved to Calvert County.
20. II. JOSEPH[5] CHEW, born 24 August 1719 (*of whom later*).

13. BENJAMIN[4] CHEW (*William*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born about 1700 and died in 1762. He moved to Cecil County, Maryland, before 1737; was appointed a Justice of the Peace, took the oath of office and served from 1743 to 1762 (Md. Com. Book, pages 60-148). He was disowned by the Nottingham Friends Meeting in October 1755. His will was dated June 1761 and proved 4 January 1763.

He married, in January 1726/7, Sarah Bond (died 1769) and had issue as follows:

21. I. BENJAMIN[5] CHEW (*of whom later*).
II. Sarah[5] Chew.
III. Phinehas[5] Chew, living in 1768.
IV. Mary[5] Chew, married, 29 July 1765, Thomas Elliott of Cecil County, Md.
V. Ann[5] Chew, married, 27 November 1768, Isaac Van Bibber of Cecil County, Md.
VI. Henrietta[5] Chew, married (1), in 1772, Samuel C. Davey; married (2), in 1783, John James.

14. SAMUEL[4] CHEW (*Benjamin*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 30 October 1693 and died 16 June 1743. He was styled Samuel Chew " of Maidstone," a tract of land lying on the west side of Herring Creek Bay near Annapolis, Md., and was also known as Dr. Samuel Chew. He moved before 1740 to Dover, Delaware, and was appointed in 1741 Chief Justice of " the three lower counties "—Newcastle, Sussex and Kent—then belonging to Pennsylvania (Keith's " Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania," page 325).

He married (1), 22 October 1715, Mary Galloway (1697-

1734), daughter of Samuel and Anne (Webb) Galloway, and had issue as follows:

I. Sarah[5] Chew, born 23 July 1716, died February 1717.
II. Ann[5] Chew, born 4 January 1719, died 2 October 1723.
III. Elizabeth[5] Chew, born 25 November 1720; married in 1749 Edward Tilghman (born 1713).
22. IV. Benjamin[5] Chew, born 29 November 1722, died 20 January 1810 (*of whom later*).
V. Ann[5] Chew, born 13 April 1725; married *circa* 1745 Samuel Galloway (died 1785).
VI. Mary[5] Chew, born 27 June 1727, died 28 May 1728.
VII. Samuel[5] Chew, born 29 April 1728, died 29 June 1729.
VIII. Samuel[5] Chew, born 3 August 1730, died 3 November 1730.
IX. Henrietta[5] Chew, born 17 March 1732, died June 1732.

He married (2), 29 September 1736, Mrs. Mary (Paca) Galloway, daughter of Aquila Paca, and had issue as follows:

X. Samuel[5] Chew, born 24 August 1737, died 25 May 1809; married Anna Maria Frisby, daughter of Peregrine Frisby, and died at Chestertown, Md., *sine prole*. He was a Judge of the Supreme Court for the three lower counties of Delaware, and Judge of Oyer and Terminer in 1773.
XI. Mary[5] Chew, born 6 September 1739, died 1 May 1740.
XII. John[5] Chew, born 21 March 1740, died 15 December 1807 at Chestertown, Md., unmarried.

15. Samuel[5] Chew (*Samuel*[4], *Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born about 1704 and died 15 January 1736/7 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. He was styled Samuel Chew, "gentleman," in the records. In his will dated 13 January and proved 3 March 1736/7 at Annapolis, Md., he mentions "my kinsman Benjamin Chew of Cecil County."

He married, about 1727, Henrietta Maria Lloyd (daughter of Philemon Lloyd), who married (2), in 1740, Daniel Dulany, Sr. (1686-1753) and died 10 December 1765; by whom he had issue as follows:

23. I. Samuel[6] Chew, died in 1786 (*of whom later*).
II. Henrietta Maria[6] Chew, born in 1731 and died 17 May 1762; married, 18 February 1748, Edward Dorsey (died 1760).
III. Philemon Llyod[6] Chew, died 17 March 1770 *sine prole*.
IV. Bennett[6] Chew, married, in January 1763, Anna Maria Tilgh-

man (daughter of Edward). He died in Baltimore, having had issue Edward Chew, who died *sine prole.*

V. Margaret[6] Chew, married, 13 October 1751, John Beale Bordley (1727-1804).

VI. Ann Mary[6] Chew, died 15 January 1774; maried, 26 May 1763, William Paca (1740-1799), a signer of the Declaration of Independence, from Maryland, and later a Governor of the State.

16. Richard[5] Chew (*Samuel*[4], *Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 16 May 1716 and died 24 June 1769 at Herring Bay, Anne Arundel County, Maryland.

He married, 5 January 1749/50, Mrs. Sarah (Lock) Chew (1721-1791), widow of his cousin Samuel Chew (died 1749), and daughter of William Lock (1679-1732).

Richard and Sarah (Lock) Chew had issue as follows:

I. Mary[6] Chew, born 27 December 1750, died 23 November 1793; married (1), 10 February 1767, Alexander Hamilton Smith, married (2) —— Lyles.

24. II. Richard[6] Chew, born 10 April 1753, died 6 June 1801 (*of whom later*).

III. Samuel[6] Chew, born 9 December 1755, died 1 February 1785, unmarried.

IV. Lock[6] Chew, born 14 November 1757, died 9 December 1793, *sine prole.*

V. Francis[6] Chew, born 10 July 1760.

VI. Sarah Lock[6] Chew, born 20 November 1761; married 1789 Nathan Lane.

25. VII. Philemon Lloyd[6] Chew, born 23 July 1765 (*of whom later*).

17. Francis[5] Chew (*Samuel*[4], *Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born in 1721 and died 11 November 1775.

He married, 26 February 1749/50, Mary Lingan (died 1764) and had issue as follows:

I. Samuel[6] Chew, born 29 January 1755.

II. Ann[6] Chew, born 15 May 1759.

III. Richard[6] Chew, born 19 October 1761.

18. Samuel[5] Chew (*John*[4], *Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born about 1709, and died in 1749 in London. He married Sarah Lock (1721-1791), daughter of William and Sarah (Harrison) Lock. She married again, 5 January 1749/50, Richard Chew (1716-1769), a cousin of her first husband.

Samuel and Sarah (Lock) Chew had issue as follows:

26. I. Samuel[6] Chew, born 1737, died 20 February 1790 (*of whom later*).
II. John Lane[6] Chew, married, in 1787, Mary Wilson and had John[7] Chew, captain, U. S. N.
27. III. William[6] Chew, born 1746, died 9 April 1801 (*of whom later*).
IV. Elizabeth[6] Chew, married (1) —— Smith; married (2) —— Sprigg.

19. Joseph[5] Chew (*Joseph*[4], *Joseph*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John* [1]) married . . . and had issue as follows:

I. Nathaniel[6] Chew, born 1748, died 22 December 1827 at West River, Anne Arundel County, *sine prole.*
28. II. John[6] Chew, died *circa* 1815 (*of whom later.*)

20. Joseph[5] Chew (*Henry*[4], *Joseph*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 24 August 1719 and died 22 January 1753. He moved to that portion of Baltimore County which is now Harford County, Maryland.

He married, in 1745, Sarah Sheredine, who was born 18 December 1726, died 7 January 1784; and had issue as follows:

I. Elizabeth[6] Chew, born 18 July 1747, died 25 September 1806; married, 24 November 1768, John Hopkins.
II. Susan[6] Chew, born 25 December 1749, died 15 December 1784; married, in 1780, Joseph Miller (born 1745), of Harford County, Md.
29. III. Thomas Sheredine[6] Chew, born 8 June 1752 (*of whom later*).

21. Benjamin[5] Chew (*Benjamin*[4], *William*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) married 1 May 1750 Cassandra Johns, daughter of Richard and Ann Johns of Baltimore County, and had issue as follows:

30. I. Nathaniel[6] Chew (*of whom later*).

22. Benjamin[5] Chew (*Samuel*[4], *Benjamin*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 29 November 1722 at "Maidstone," Anne Arundel County, Maryland, and died 20 January 1810 at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He studied law at Philadelphia, went abroad in 1741 and entered the Middle Temple, Inns of Court, London. He returned to America after his father's

death, was admitted to the bar in 1746 and began practice at Dover, Delaware (formerly under the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania). He moved to Philadelphia about 1754; and built his country seat, "Cliveden," on the Germantown road, in 1761.

He was a Commissioner of Boundaries for the three lower counties of Delaware in 1751; Speaker of the House from the same district in 1753-1758; Attorney General of Pennsylvania and member of the Provincial Council 1754-1769; Register General of Wills 1765-1776; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania 1774-1776; Judge and President of the High Court of Errors and Appeals 1791-1806 (Pa. Archives: Pa. Hist. Society Publications: Keith's "Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania").

He married (1), 13 June 1747, Mary Galloway (died 1755), daughter of John and Mary (Thomas) Galloway, and had issue as follows:

I. Mary[6] Chew, born 10 March 1748, died 22 August 1794; married, 18 May 1768, Alexander Wilcocks (1741-1801).
II. Anna Maria[6] Chew, born 27 November 1749, died in November 1812, unmarried.
III. Elizabeth[6] Chew, born 10 November 1751; married, 26 May 1774, Edward Tilghman (1750-1815).
IV. Sarah[6] Chew, born 15 November 1753; married, 23 October 1786, John Galloway (of Samuel).
V. Henrietta[6] Chew, born in September 1755, died 1756.

He married (2), 12 September 1757, Elizabeth Oswald (1732-1819), daughter James Oswald, and had issue:

31. VI. Benjamin[6] Chew, born 30 September 1758, died 30 April 1844 (*of whom later*).
VII. Margaret[6] Chew, born 16 December 1760, died 29 May 1824; married 18 May 1787 Col. John Eager Howard (1752-1827).
VIII. Joseph[6] Chew, born 9 March 1763, died in September 1764.
IX. Juliana[6] Chew, born 8 April 1765; married, 1 April 1793, Philip Nicklin.
X. Henrietta[6] Chew, born 15 September 1767, died 8 March 1848, unmarried.
XI. Sophia[6] Chew, born 13 November 1769; married, in 1796, Henry Philips (1767-1800) of Philadelphia.
XII. Maria[6] Chew, born 22 December 1771, died 27 March 1840, unmarried.

XIII. Harriet[6] Chew, born 22 October 1775, died 8 April 1861; married, 17 July 1800, Charles Carroll of "Homewood," Md.

XIV. Catherine[6] Chew, born 3 May 1779, died 28 May 1831, unmarried.

23. Samuel[6] Chew (*Samuel*[5], *Samuel*[4], *Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, and died in 1786. He was styled Samuel Chew "of Herring Bay." By the terms of his father's will he inherited the tract called "Ayres" and other parcels of land. In 1785 he purchased from the heirs of William Brent, of Virginia, "Kent Fort Manor" on Kent Island, Maryland, which he left to his wife Elizabeth Chew for life, with remainder to his son Samuel Lloyd Chew. In 1787 the Manor, which contained 2005 acres, was divided and the southern moiety deeded by Samuel Lloyd Chew to his mother. In 1787-1789, the property was mortgaged to Charles Carroll of Carrolton, but the mortgage seems to have been paid off later (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, VI. 254; Deed Records of Queen Anne's County, 27 June 1797). Samuel Chew also owned "Chew's Farm," a manorial estate in the southern part of Washington County, Maryland.

Samuel Chew married, about 1750/5, Elizabeth Crowley (1729-1807), who was born in Maryland and died at Sodus Point, Wayne County, New York. According to the records of St. James Parish, Herring Creek, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, they had issue as follows:

I. Samuel Lloyd[7] Chew, born 6 September 1756, died in 1796; married, 1 July 1777, Dorothy Harrison, who was born 17 February 1758, of Richard and Rachel Harrison, and died 6 November 1791. Issue:

a. Samuel A.[8] Chew.

b. Bennett[8] Chew.

c. Henrietta Maria[8] Chew, married Henry C. Schnebly of Washington County, Md.

d. Elizabeth[8] Chew, married (1) William Deery; married (2) Eli Beatty of Washington County, Md.

II. Henrietta Maria[7] Chew, born 21 March 1759, died 21 April 1847; married, 5 September 1775, Benjamin Galloway (1754-1831), and moved to Washington County, Md.

III. Elizabeth[7] Chew, born in 1765, died 4 June 1854; married, 11 December 1781, Peregrine Fitzhugh (1759-1810). Both died at Sodus Point, Wayne County, New York.

24. Richard[6] Chew (*Richard*[5], *Samuel*[4], *Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 10 April 1753 and died 6 June 1801. He was a Captain and afterward a Major in the Maryland Line (*Md. Arch.*, XII. 323).

He married (1), 4 February 1773, Margaret Mackall (1754-1779), daughter of James John Mackall, and had issue as follows:

I. Richard[7] Chew, born 4 October 1773, died 20 June 1831; married, 20 December 1804, Elizabeth Hollyday (of Leonard).
II. Mary Mackall[7] Chew, born 17 September 1776; married, in 1815, John Brengman of Kentucky.

He married (2), 2 May 1780, Frances Holland (died 26 September 1799), daughter of Thomas Holland of Calvert County, Md., and had issue as follows:

III. Thomas Holland[7] Chew, born 27 October 1781, died 16 March 1840; married (1) Elizabeth Smith (d. 1825); married (2) Mary Davis (d. 1829).
IV. William Holland[7] Chew, born 7 August 1784, died 11 September 1799.
V. Sarah[7] Chew, born 16 March 1787, died 28 December 1790.
VI. Philemon[7] Chew, born 20 February 1789, died 30 September 1850; married, 21 February 1813, Ann Maria Bowie Brookes (1789-1862).
VII. Sarah Lock[7] Chew, born 28 April 1791, died young.
VIII. Frances[7] Chew, born 19 April 1793.
IX. Bettie Holland[7] Chew, born 19 September 1795, died 19 September 1797.
X. Samuel Lock[7] Chew, born 29 July 1797, died 12 February 1798.
XI. Bettie Holland[7] Chew, born 15 May 1799, died 18 October 1800.

25. Philemon Lloyd[6] Chew (*Richard*[5], *Samuel*[4], *Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 23 July 1765. He married, 28 October 1790, Ann Bowie (1767-1827), daughter of William Bowie of Prince George's County, Md., and had issue:

I. Margaret Bowie[7] Chew, born 17 September 1791; married, 14 May 1816 (*lic.*), Richard Ireland Jones.
II. Eliza[7] Chew, born 14 January 1793.
III. William Bowie[7] Chew, born 27 September 1794.
IV. Richard[7] Chew, born 6 February 1796.
V. Robert Bowie[7] Chew, born 21 February 1797.
VI. Samuel[7] Chew, born 18 September 1798.

VII. Walter Bowie[7] Chew, born 29 November 1799.
VIII. Henry Mortimer[7] Chew, born 17 March 1801; married, 15 January 1833, Eliza Ann Haw.
IX. John[7] Chew, born 14 August 1802, died 23 August 1802.
X. Sarah Maria[7] Chew, born 9 December 1803.
XI. Ann Maria[7] Chew, born 19 October 1806.

26. Samuel[6] Chew (*Samuel*[5], *John*[4], *Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born in 1737 and died 20 February 1790. He was styled Samuel Chew "of Wells." He was a delegate to the Maryland Conventions of 1774-1775 and a member of the Association of Freemen of Maryland (Scharf's "History of Maryland," II. 184; *Md. Arch.*).

He married (1), 3 February 1763, Sarah Weems (died 1763), daughter of James Weems, and had issue as follows:

I. Samuel[7] Chew, born 1763, died about 1820. He moved to Kentucky in 1805; was married twice.

He married (2) Priscilla Claggett, daughter of the Rev. Samuel and Mrs. Elizabeth (Gantt) Claggett, and had issue as follows:

II. John Hamilton[7] Chew, born 14 September 1771, died 22 March 1830; married (a cousin) Priscilla Elizabeth Claggett (d. 1843), daughter of the Rt. Rev. Thomas John Claggett of Maryland, first P. E. Bishop in the United States, and had issue.
III. Thomas John[7] Chew, died 1797; married, 14 November 1793, Margaret C. Johns, *sine prole*. She married later, Colonel Washington Bowie.

27. William[6] Chew (*Samuel*[5], *John*[4], *Samuel*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born in 1746 and died 9 September 1801. He married, in 1768, Elizabeth Reynolds (died 1801), daughter of Thomas Reynolds, and had issue as follows:

I. Sarah[7] Chew, born 11 July 1770, died 10 September 1843; married (1) in 1787 Allen Bowie, (2) Frisby Freeland, (3) Beverly R. Grayson.
II. Elizabeth[7] Chew, born 26 April 1772, died in June 1828; married —— Moseby, of Kentucky.
III. Francis Holland[7] Chew, born 12 December 1774, died 24 August 1834; married —— Calvit, of Mississippi.

IV. Mary[7] Chew, born 4 June 1776, died 1 May 1821; married Thomas Reynolds, of Mississippi.

V. William Lock[7] Chew, born 10 April 1778, died 17 July 1858; married, 22 October 1805, Rebecca Freeland (1785-1840).

VI. Ann Reynolds[7] Chew, born 19 July 1780; married —— Craig, of Kentucky.

28. John[6] Chew (*Joseph*[5], *Joseph*[4], *Joseph*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) died about 1815 in Prince George's County, Maryland. He married . . . and had issue as follows:

I. Robert[7] Chew, born 1777, died in 1837; married Tabitha Wilson and had issue.

II. Nathaniel[7] Chew, born 1785, died in 1845; married, in 1814, Martha Bird and had issue.

III. Walter[7] Chew, married Mrs. —— (Jones) Cobb and had issue.

IV. John[7] Chew, died unmarried.

V. Ann[7] Chew.

VI. Elizabeth[7] Chew.

VII. Artridge[7] Chew.

VIII. Agnes[7] Chew, married Hanson Clark, of Montgomery County, Maryland.

29. Thomas Sheredine[6] Chew (*Joseph*[5], *Henry*[4], *Joseph*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 8 June 1752 and died 15 February 1821. He married about 1790 Elizabeth Morgan, born 1 November 1772, daughter of William and Cassandra Morgan, and had issue as follows:

I. William Morgan[7] Chew, born 14 July 1791; married, 12 February 1814, Anne Webster Richardson and had issue.

II. Thomas[7] Chew, graduated M. D. in Baltimore; moved to Mississippi and died unmarried.

III. Sarah[7] Chew, born 1 December 1792, died 13 November 1821; married, 11 April 1809, Samuel Worthington (died 1853).

IV. Cassandra Morgan[7] Chew, born 12 November 1796, died 20 August 1844 unmarried.

V. Edward Morgan[7] Chew, died 16 May 1878; married (1) Margaret Hopkins and (2) Caroline F. Hall, *sine prole.*

VI. Eliza[7] Chew, married John W. Hopkins, son of Samuel and Rachel Hopkins, and had issue.

VII. Margaret[7] Chew, died in 1865; married, in 1837, Isaac Wilson and had issue.

30. Nathaniel[6] Chew (*Benjamin*[5], *Benjamin*[4], *William*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born, after 1750, and died 22 May 1827,

in Maryland. He was a midshipman in the Continental Navy, Revolutionary War, and became a Captain. He lived in Cecil County, Maryland.

He married, 24 November 1793, Margaret Rodgers, daughter of Colonel John Rodgers, and had issue as follows:

I. John[7] Chew.
II. Benjamin Franklin[7] Chew.
III. Washington Pinkney[7] Chew, died 7 April 1850; married, 4 January 1831, Mary Hall (died 1838). He married (2), 10 Nov. 1840, Mary C. Boyd.
IV. Emeline R.[7] Chew.
V. Henrietta Mary[7] Chew, married, 18 November 1841, Dr. John J. Boyd of Harford County, Md.
VI. Elizabeth Ann[7] Chew.

31. Benjamin[6] Chew (*Benjamin*[5], *Samuel*[4], *Benjamin*[3], *Samuel*[2], *John*[1]) was born 30 September 1758 and died 30 April 1844. He was admitted to the bar of Philadelphia, Pa., in 1786.

He married, 11 December 1788, Katherine Banning (1770-1855) and had issue as follows:

I. Samuel[7] Chew, born 8 December 1789, died 21 March 1795.
II. Eliza[7] Chew, born 4 May 1791, died 21 March 1795.
III. Benjamin[7] Chew, born 5 December 1793, died 17 August 1864; married, 11 July 1816, Margaret Elizabeth Tilghman (died 1817).
IV. Samuel[7] Chew, born 19 June 1795, died 21 August 1841. Admitted to the bar of Philadelphia 1816. Died unmarried.
V. John[7] Chew, born 23 January 1797, died in August 1815. Midshipman, U. S. N. Lost at sea.
VI. Eliza Margaretta[7] Chew, born 19 November 1798, died 11 February 1874; married, 25 July 1822, James Murray Mason.
VII. Henry Banning[7] Chew, born 11 December 1800, died 12 December 1866; married (1), 14 May 1822, Harriet Ridgely (1802-1835); married (2), 20 March 1839, Elizabeth Ann Ralston of Philadelphia (*sine prole*).
VIII. William White[7] Chew, born 12 April 1803, died 12 November 1851. Sec'y. of American Legation to Russia.
IX. Ann Sophia Penn[7] Chew, born 18 March 1805, died 9 May 1892, unmarried.
X. Joseph Turner[7] Chew, born 12 December 1806, died in 1835.
XI. Anthony Banning[7] Chew, born 24 January 1809, died in February 1854.

XII. Catherine Maria[7] Chew, born 12 May 1811, buried 26 October 1811.

XIII. Oswald[7] Chew, born 23 May 1813, died 8 June 1824. Drowned while bathing in the Schuylkill River.

NOTE.—The compiler is indebted to Messrs. Louis H. Dielman and F. Sidney Hayward for the use of their valuable and extensive gleanings, from the files of old newspapers, in the matter of marriage and death notices.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

February 11, 1935.—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with Acting President Riggs in the chair.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Active:

Mr. Jackson Brandt
Mrs. Jackson Brandt
Miss Louise E. Carroll
Mrs. L. F. Cromwell
Mr. Edward A. Doehler
Mr. Frank Jacobs
Mr. Richard Laws Lee
Mr. E. Randolph Wootten
Maj. Wm. Burnett Wright

Associate:

Dr. Henry Ridgely Evans

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Dr. Henry M. Fitzhugh, on January 25th, 1935.
Mr. Willard A. Baldwin, on January 29th, 1935.

There being no further business, upon motion duly seconded and carried the regular monthly meeting adjourned and the Annual Meeting was called to order. The minutes of the Annual Meeting will be found printed in the March 1935 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

Mr. Carl Pfeiffer, Assistant State Forester, was recognized by the Chair. Mr. Pfeiffer gave a brief sketch of the history of

Fort Frederick and this talk was followed by lantern slides showing the condition of the Fort before it was taken over by the State of Maryland. Moving pictures followed showing the condition of the Fort at the present time and the work completed, and that which is now in progress, by the C. C. C. under the direction of the State Forestry Department of Maryland.

Mr. Marye moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. Pfeiffer for his interesting pictures and talk. The motion was unanimously carried.

The Chair recognized Senator W. McCulloh Browne who gave an account of the Fort and the interest which was stirred up some years ago among the people of Maryland which made it possible to have the property purchased by the State.

Upon motion duly seconded and carried the unanimous thanks of the Society were extended to Senator Browne for his short talk.

March 11th, 1935.—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with President Riggs in the chair.

Mr. Louis H. Dielman presented a number of pieces of old sheet music and called particular attention to the piece " Huzza for the Constellation " printed and sold by Carr's Music Store, Baltimore, which is illustrated with a cut of the Constellation's fight with the Insurgente in 1799.

Another interesting document added to the library, by purchase, is the petition to the General Assembly asking for the division of Baltimore and Frederick Counties to form a new county to be known as Paca County.

A deposit, recently made by Mr. C. Braxton Dallam, is a manuscript copy of Lee's Farewell Address to his Army, signed by Lee and presented to the late Mr. William W. Dallam.

The following named persons were elected to Membership:

Active:

Mrs. Francis F. Beirne
Rev. A. Boyer, S. S.
Mr. Luther Stitt Tall
Mr. George Renehan
Dr. Robert L. Swain

Dr. J. Hall Pleasants presented on behalf of Dr. William Stull Holt a manuscript, to be deposited in the name of the Johns Hopkins University Library, entitled "The Records of Joppa Town, 1724," which is accompanied by a plat showing the lot owners and the more important buildings.

Dr. Pleasants referred to a recent discovery of certain specimens of printing in the Land Office at Annapolis, which establish the priority of Nuthead's press at St. Mary's City over that of William Bradford at Philadelphia, in 1685.

Professor Philip Davidson of the Department of History, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia, was introduced as the speaker of the evening. Professor Davidson gave a delightful talk on the "Rev. Jonathan Boucher, A Fighting Tory Parson."

At the close of the paper Dr. Pleasants moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Professor Davidson by the Society for his most interesting and delightful talk.

March 28th, 1935.—A Special Meeting of the Society was held this afternoon, at 4.45 p. m., with President Riggs in the Chair.

The only matter of business attended to was the nomination and election of members.

The following named persons were elected to Membership:

Active:

Miss Marjorie Albaugh
Mr. Wilmer Black
Mrs. Thomas Marshall Duer
Mr. James Foster
Mr. A. Brown Griswold
Mrs. M. A. Leahy
Mr. Samuel P. Mason, Jr.
Mrs. Harry Morrison
Mrs. James Piper
Mr. George M. Shriver
Mr. John Mosley Walker

Associate:

Mrs. Harry White

The speaker, Professor Albert Hatton Gilmer of Lafayette College, was introduced and gave a splendid paper entitled "Lafayette A Hundred Years After."

At the close of the paper, upon motion duly seconded and carried, the unanimous thanks of the Society were extended to Professor Gilmer.

April 8th, 1935.—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with President Riggs in the Chair.

The minutes of the last regular meeting, as well as those of the Special Meeting, held on March 28th, were read and approved as read.

The following named persons were elected to Membership:

Active:

Mrs. William Irving Bowie	Miss Blanche L. Hoopes
Dr. Gilbert Chinard	Miss M. Ella Hoopes
Mr. Edward W. Donn, Jr.	Mr. G. Robert Howell
Mr. J. Lawrence Fox	Mr. Sam W. Pattison
Mrs. Arthington Gilpin, Jr.	Mrs. David A. Ralston
Mr. J. William Slemons	Mr. Isaac Lobe Straus

Associate:

Mr. Irving McKesson	Mrs. Mark Woodward
Mrs. James H. Scott	

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Mr John Sebastian Flower, Associate, died December 19th, 1934.

Mr. George A. Colston, Active, died January 26th, 1935.

Mr. F. Highland Burns, Active, died March 30th, 1935.

Mr. James E. Hancock was recognized by the Chair. He gave a brief outline of the history of the frigate "Constellation" and offered the following Resolution:

"*Whereas*, Baltimore was one of the principal ports of naval activity during the Revolutionary War, the Naval War with France and the War of 1812, and

"*Whereas*, The first officer to be appointed to the American Navy was a Baltimorean, while Maryland supplied more officers for this original navy of the United States than any other State in the Union, and

"*Whereas*, The frigate Constellation was built in Baltimore, 1796-97, and launched as the first frigate for the United States Navy when it was organized as a separate department under the Secretary of the Navy,

"*Therefore be it Resolved*, that the Maryland Historical Society endorses the Joint Senate Bill No. 87, now before Congress, and further requests that the President and The Congress of the United States repair and return the Frigate Constellation to Baltimore and station her at Fort McHenry as a memorial of Baltimore's participation in the early naval wars of the Republic."

The motion was seconded by Mr. J. Alexis Shriver, and unanimously adopted by the Society.

Mr. Leander McCormick-Goodhart was introduced by President Riggs who stated that he was half American and entirely Britisher and one of the Secretaries of the British Embassy in Washington. Maryland is Mr. McCormick-Goodhart's adopted home and he lives on an estate in Prince George's County, and maintains a shooting lodge at one of Maryland's most interesting places, "De la Brooke Manor" in St. Mary's County. He is one of the Society's most valued members and his interest in Maryland history is unbounded, and to-night we will have the pleasure of hearing his paper on "Admiral Vernon, His Marylanders and His Medals." The one medal owned by the Society is the only one in Maryland, with the exception of Mr. McCormick-Goodhart's collection which is the finest in existence.

Mr. McCormick-Goodhart stated that before he began his talk he would like to say a word in regard to the Resolution

adopted by the Society in regard to the " Constellation " and he hopes that the United States Navy Department will be encouraged to return to Baltimore the Frigate Constellation. He said that he was a member of the Nautical Research Society in London and several years ago it had been their good fortune to obtain England's most famous ship, " The Victory," and restore it by means of an appeal for funds which was graciously answered, and the " Victory " is now on permanent exhibition and is visited by approximately 100,000 persons per annum. He sincerely trusts that Baltimore will be successful in obtaining the Constellation.

Mr. McCormick-Goodhart's talk on " Admiral Vernon " was most interesting and a valuable addition to the records of the Society. His collection of four hundred medals of Admiral Vernon were arranged on two large tables and were examined with great interest by the members of the Society.

Mr. Shriver moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. McCormick-Goodhart for a most delightful evening.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I desire to correct an error in my article which appeared in vol. 26, pages 285 and 323 of the *Magazine*. Due to inaccurate misstatement that Mary Brooke (who died Oct., 14, 1808), wife of Stephen Howison (who died Feb., 1, 1815) was a daughter of Basil Brooke (c. 1714-1757) and his first wife, Dorothy Taney. Mrs. Watson M. Fairley of Raeford, N. C., has furnished me with the information of the parentage of this Mary Brooke and I desire to correct the former statement. Mary (Brooke) Howison was a daughter of John Brooke of Charles Co., Md., who died in 1763. His will, dated July 12, and probated Aug., 27, 1763, mentioned his son-in-law, Stephen Howison to whom he left a part of " Good Neighborhood " and " 12 acres where he now lives being part of The End of Shuf-

fle." 4 eldest daughters: Elizabeth Stewart, *Mary Howison*, Sarah Robey and Jane Robey. 5 youngest children: William, Susannah, Charity, Walter and Chloe. His executors were his wife Sarah and Peter Robey. The will of Peter Harriott of Charles Co., dated Sept., 6, 1749 and probated Dec., 12, 1751, mentioned grandson, Peter Harriot Robey, son of John Nally Robey, and his brother, Thomas Robey. 2 daughters *Sarah Brooke* and Elizabeth Robey. Sons-in-law *John Brooke* and John Nally Robey, to be executors. From the records at the Land Office it is shown that Cert. No. 141, for 132 acres, " End of shuffle," was patented by John Brook (sic) in 1742 and surveyed for John Brook of Charles Co., for the lives of the said John Brook, Sarah, his wife, and Elizabeth Brook, his daughter, Oct., 26, 1742. The Charles County Rent Roll for 1761 shows that 124 acres, " Good Neighborhood," was surveyed for John Brook April 16, 1761 and patented on May 27th of that year. 250 acres, " Hopewells Amendment," was surveyed in Sept., 1725, for John Hopewell. Of this 75 acres was held by John Boswell and 125 acres by John Brooke later. 200 acres of this land were surveyed, Sept. 18, 1825, for John Hopewell. William Hopewell transferred 100 acres of this land to John Brook (sic), Nov., 23, 1742.

No data of the parentage of this John Brooke of Charles Co., has been found. Mrs. Fairly and I would appreciate any information that anyone could send of us him and his ancestry.

Very truly yours,

John Bailey Calvert Nicklin.

Reid. Wanted, names of parents of Mathew Mark Reid, who was born in Maryland Aug. 28, 1815. In what county was he born?

Wanted names of parents of Thomas Cawood (Caywood), b. in Maryland April 16, 1793. He served in War of 1812, from Frederick County.

Wanted, names of parents of Jane Hodson who married George P. Chrisman in Winchester, Va. in 1787. Would like to correspond with anyone who has history of the Hodson family.

Mrs. Alta Chrisman,
3051 Starr St., Lincoln, Neb.

Bennett. Wanted, information concerning William Bennett and Deborah, his wife, who lived at East Bedford, Chester co. Pa.; later in Cecil co. Md. and there died before 1787. Their children were William, b. Mar. 25, 1737, lived in Berkeley co. Va.; Mary, m. Cheney; Sarah, m. Ashbridge; Deborah; and Joshua. Is this the same line as that of John or Edward Bennett in Chester co., Pa.?

Mrs. John Bennett.
37 Legare St., Charleston, S. C.

Councilman. Will anyone who has information on the Kunzelmann-Councilman-Counselman families of Maryland and Pennsylvania communicate with the undersigned? Data are particularly desired on Frederick of Reisterstown, Md.; Heinrich of Lykens, Dauphin co. Pa., and Philip of Tioga township, Luzerne co. Pa., and Nanticoke, Broome county, N. Y., and their ancestors and descendants. Does either of these have a service-record in the Revolutionary War?

Halsey Stevens,
Evergreen Terrace, Homer, New York.

Swift. Wanted, Revolutionary War record of Flower Swift, b. in Maryland in 1750; Captain of Militia, 1779, in Montgomery co. Va.,

Mrs. Edith Poteet Woodall,
2230, 12 Ave. North, Birmingham, Ala.

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THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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PISCATTAWAY.

By WILLIAM B. MARYE.

PART ONE: *The Piscattaway People.*

The Piscattaway Indians (Pascattaways, Pascaticons, etc.) were a people of Algonquian stock who, at the time of the founding of Maryland (1634) and for some years later, lived on the banks of a creek of Potomac River, which still bears their name, and on the river itself near the mouth of that creek. Their chief was called by them the "tayac" (*Narratives of Early Maryland,* p. 131). To the English he was always known as the "emperor." This grandiose title was not due to a complete failure on the part of the English invaders of his country to appreciate the true rank of the "tayac" from a worldly point of view. Rather it resulted from the custom of styling as "kings" all of the ordinary Indian chieftains. Starting with this somewhat grandiloquent title, our antecedents had to find some word to designate an Indian chief who ruled over "kings," and "emperor" was the only word which seemed to fit the subject. Having begun with an exaggeration, they ended in an absurdity. Nevertheless, the rank and influence of this Indian "emperor" had sufficient prestige to promote a certain delusion of grandeur in Giles Brent, so that he would talk of the "crowne and scepter of Pascattaway" (*Maryland Archives,* Volume XV, folio 124), an idea which appears only the more strange when it is recalled that the Indians themselves had no conception of

the meaning of a crown and used no object which in any way corresponded with it.

The ruling powers of the Province of Maryland acknowledged the station and authority of three Indian "emperors." The emperor of Piscattaway was the only one of them who lived and held sway on the Western Shore. The other two, the Emperor of Nanticoke and the Emperor of Assateague, lived on the Eastern Shore. The power of these native potentates did not always by any means extend to all of the Indian peoples of the colony. New peoples were occasionally added to the list of their subjects, but the numbers of the whole diminished rapidly.

In 1639 the domain of the tayac, or emperor of Piscattaway, was said to extend a distance of one hundred and thirty miles (see "Annual Letters of the Jesuits" in *Narratives of Early Maryland,* p. 125). This meant, of course, the length of the territory measured from east to west and it must have been an estimate of the distance as measured along the Maryland shore of the Potomac River, and not in a straight line. It is dubious if at this time the emperor's influence extended so far as to include Anacostia. Captain Henry Fleete, writing in 1632, has informed us that the emperor of Piscattaway had little use for the "Nacostines," that is, the Anacostans, but feared to vent his spleen upon them because they enjoyed the protection of the "Massomacks," "or Cannyda Indians," that is to say, of the Five Nations ("The Journal of Henry Fleete" in Neill's *Founders of Maryland,* p. 25). At this juncture it is necessary to call attention to an error in an otherwise excellent work, *Landmarks of Old Prince William,* by Fairfax Harrison. Mr. Harrison doubts if there was any real difference between the Piscattaways and the Anacostans, but cites the passage in Fleete's journal as evidence of an enmity which existed between the last named people and Powhatan (*Landmarks of Old Prince William,* Vol. 1, p. 19). It is clear from the context, however, that the "emperor," to whom Fleete refers, was not Powhatan, but the Emperor of Piscattaway. For one thing, his home, the town in which he lived, was on Potomac River. This fact leaves

no doubt as to his identity, if any existed. Some time after the founding of Maryland the Piscattaways "buried the hatchet" so far as concerned the Anacostans, and those of that people who remained in Maryland and had not gone to join their Iroquois protectors in the north, were incorporated with them.

The *Maryland Archives* furnish us with the names, as of 1666 and 1668, of the various Indian peoples who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emperor of Piscattaway (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. II, p. 25; Vol. V, p. 34). Among these names we find notably those of the Mattawomans, the Chopticos, the Portobaccos, the Nanjemoys and the Anacostans. The Pamunkeys are conspicuously lacking, but of this there seems to me to be a simple explanation, which is that they were included in the list as Piscattaways proper.

In that well known passage in the *Maryland Archives,* dated December 20th, 1660, wherein their manner of chosing their tayacs or emperors is elucidated for the benefit of Governor Philip Calvert, the Piscattaways make very considerable claims not only for the antiquity of their league, but also for its former physical extent (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. III, pp. 402-403). The author of the article on the Piscattaways or Conoys in the *Handbook of American Indians* interprets this passage to mean that, perhaps, the league was founded about the beginning of the sixteenth century (*Handbook of American Indians,* Vol. 1, p. 339, Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology). At all events, if the Piscattaways spoke in good faith on this occasion, and they had no particular reason to do otherwise, their league antedated the founding of Maryland by a great many years. Their claim, that their emperor formerly had power over the Susquehannocks was, of course, a trivial boast. Not so, however, their mention of the Potomacs as his former subjects. These last were, perhaps, the principal people of the south shore of Potomac River. In early historical times they appear to have been brought within the Powhatan confederacy (*Handbook of American Indians,* Vol. 2, p. 294). This, so far as I have been able to ascertain, was not certainly ever true

of the Piscattaways and their confederates of the eastern bank of the river, although Harrison holds a contrary opinion (*Landmarks of Old Prince William,* Vol. 1, p. 19). Evidence in support of the Piscattaways' claim in regard to the Potomacs is found in a paragraph contained in a letter of the Governor and Council of Virginia to the Board of Trade, bearing date January 30th, 1624:

"Have also revenged the treachery of the Pascaticons and their associates, *the greatest people of those parts,* for cutting off Captain Spilman and Mr. Puntis' pinnace and murdering great numbers of their ancient allies, the Patowmacks" (*Calendar of State Papers,* Colonial, 1574-1660, p. 56).

A somewhat earlier (1622) reference to the "Pazaticans" will be found in the works of Captain John Smith, where it is stated that they and the "Patawmek" were then "mortall enemies" (*Works of Captain John Smith,* Arbor Edition, p. 586).

These, the above cited, are, so far as my experience goes, the earliest instances of the mention of the Piscattaway people by forms of the name under which they have since gone in history.

Of the numbers of the Piscattaways and their allies down the long succession of years of the historical period from 1608 to 1697 it is impossible to give a good and consistent account. Semmes estimates the number of Indians living on the east bank of the Potomac (tidewater section) at the time of Captain John Smith's voyage of exploration in the Chesapeake (1608) at nine hundred ("Aboriginal Maryland," by Raphael Semmes, in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. XXIV, p. 208). Captain Henry Fleete, in his Journal of 1631-1632, informs his readers of the "poore number of natives which are in Patomack and places adjacent, where are not above five thousand persons" ("The Journal of Henry Fleete" in Neill's *Founders of Maryland,* p. 25). Later on he tells us how the "Pascatowies" had suffered a "great slaughter formerly . . . to the number of one thousand persons in my time" at the hand of the "Massomacks" or Iroquois. Father White is authority for the statement that, on

his first visit to Piscattoway (1634), Governor Leonard Calvert was met at the water side by five hundred bowman (Father White's "Briefe Relation" in *Narratives of Early Maryland,* pp. 40, 41). I can not but believe, however, with all due deference to the author of this statement, that it exaggerates the facts. The anonymous author of "A Relation of Maryland" merely says that Governor Calvert found "many Indians assembled" to greet him on the occasion of his historic visit to Piscattaway (*ibid.,* p. 72). Whatever their numbers at the time of the founding of Maryland, the Piscattaways and their allies certainly declined in number subsequently to this event. In the year 1670, on presenting a petition to Philip and William Calvert for a renewal of their league of peace with Maryland, the representatives of the Piscattaways apologized for the poor value and quantity of the presents then offered according to Indian custom, alleging that "now they are reduced to a small number and therefore they cannot present any thing considerable" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. V, p. 65). In the year 1676 the government made a present of eighty matchcoats to the Piscattaways (exclusive of the Pamunkeys and the Mattawomans) as a reward for their services in the campaign against the Susquehannocks. The implication seems to be that eighty Piscattaway warriors took part in and survived this campaign (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. II, p. 489). Sir Thomas Lawrence, in a letter to the Earl of Bridgewater, dated March 25th, 1697, makes the statement that the Piscattaway Indians and their associates, the Mattawomans and the Chopticos, number altogether not above eighty or ninety (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXV, p. 256; see also *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies,* 1694-1697, p. 425). This estimate I believe to be below the true number; for in 1699, when the Piscattaways, minus all of their former allies, were living on Conoy Island at Point of Rocks in Potomac River, Giles Vandicastille and Burr Harrison, who visited them there, reported to the Governor of Virginia that they found twenty Indian men, twenty women and thirty children at the fort on the island, while others were

said to be absent in quest of game, and they estimated the number of bowmen available to be "not above eighty or ninety" (*Virginia State Papers,* 1652-1781, p. 63). Colonel Smallwood, of Maryland, who visited the island in 1704, reported that he had been informed of a "great mortality" among the Indians there, "to the number of fifty seven men, women and children dead" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXVI, p. 376).

The causes of the diminution in numbers of the Maryland Indians were various. While nothing like the great massacre of the Piscattaways reported by Henry Fleete occured after the founding of the colony, all sorts of things combined to bring about the rapid decline of the native peoples. Governor Nicholson, writing in the year 1697, concerning the Indian population of Maryland, declares that smallpox was one of the causes of its then rapid decrease; but adds: "the great cause of all is their (the Indians) being so devilishly given to drink" *Calendar of State Papers, America and the West Indies,* 1694-1697, p. 425). This statement scarcely came with a very good grace from a Governor of Maryland. The three representatives of the Piscattaway Indians who, in 1670, as noted above, came to St. Mary's with a petition for a renewal of their treaty of peace, were sent back to Piscattaway with three matchcoats and *two gallons of rum.* In 1692 the Emperor and "great men" of Piscattaway and other Indian towns (not named) complained to the Council of the "irregularity of their young Men when they get drunk" and desired "the Prohibition of carrying Rum and other strong Drink among them for the future" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. VIII, p. 327). Other reasons for the melting away of Maryland's Indian population were the wars made upon the native people by neighboring Indians and by the Five Nations (an old affair) and their wars and petty strife with the English. As they diminished in numbers the Piscattaways and their allies became more and more accessible to the recurring attacks of the Northern Indians. In 1680 it was reported that the Piscattaways, Mattawomans and Chopticos combined were no match for the "Senecas" (Five Nations) and the Susquehannocks, who

could muster one thousand men to besiege them (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 287). In the following year almost the whole of the Mattawoman nation were said to have been surprised and massacred by "fforeigne Indians" (*ibid.,* pp. 329, 330). About this time the Northern Indians boasted that they had "brought the Pascattaway heads to be as small as a finger, they will now see if they can make an end of them" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XVII, pp. 3-5). The Northern Indians took prisoners of the Piscattaways whenever they were able to do so and usually put these captives to death, but the lives of the prisoners taken at the siege of the Piscattaway fort in Zachia Swamp in the summer of 1681, men, women and children to the number of seventeen, were spared, in order that these captives might be adopted into the tribe (*ibid.,* pp. 12, 98, 99; Vol. XV, p. 375). Lastly, or so it might appear, Maryland was not always innocent of a practice in vogue in New England: the enslaving and the transportation to Barbadoes of Indian prisoners of war. An unofficial statement to this effect (anno 1676), regarding captives taken in a war with the Wickamiss Indians of the Eastern Shore, will be found in the Archives of the province (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. V, p. 136. Maryland declared war on the Wickamiss people in 1647. In 1669 they were again deemed to be enemies of the Province. *Maryland Archives,* Vol. III, p. 91; Vol. II, p. 196). In the case of the Piscattaways extinction did not overtake them in Maryland. They absconded from their former abodes in the year 1697, never to return, leaving the remnants of their old allies behind them. Not many years later they were living under the government of Pennsylvania and the land of their ancestors saw them no more.

For our knowledge of the manners and customs of the Piscattaways we must depend largely on Father White's "Briefe Relation" (1634), on the anonymous "Relation of Maryland" (1635) and on several of the "Annual Letters of the Jesuits" (letters of 1638-1642). All of these works have been reprinted in "Narratives of Early Maryland" (*Narratives of Early*

Maryland, Clayton Coleman Hall, editor, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1910). It was within the private means of the Lords Baltimore to have sent to Maryland accredited archaeologists and artists for the purpose of preparing a work on the subject of the native peoples. That they did not do so is certainly a great pity, if it is not a cause for reproach. They profited hugely by the province at the expense of the lives and dignity of the natives to whom they and their followers did irreparable harm.

Very little is to be found in the *Maryland Archives* touching the particular ways and habits of the Piscattaways. There is the well-known passage about their manner of chosing their tayacs or emperors, to which allusion has already been made (This passage is quoted in full in the *Handbook of American Indians,* Vol. I, p. 339). In the year 1679 the Piscattaways, expecting an attack on the part of the Northern Indians, appealed to the English for arms and ammunition, on the ground that they were out of practice in the making of bows and arrows (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 236). On August 19th, 1678, Nicotagsen, then the emperor, with the " speaker " of the Piscattaways and several Choptico Indians presented themselves to the Council on a matter of business. When asked why others had not come to the meeting, they replied that " most of their great men were very busie in gathering together their dead bones &c^{a} " (*ibid.,* p. 185). This is probably an allusion to a burial custom which is described by Henry Spelman (or Spilman) in his Relation of Virginia, 1609 (*A Relation of Virginia,* by Henry Spelman, the Chiswick Press, London, 1872, p. 41. For a photostatic copy of this rare work I am indebted to the John Carter Brown Library, of Providence, R. I., through the courtesy of the librarian, Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth). According to Spelman, who lived for some time among the Potomacs, the " former allies " and neighbors of the Piscattaways, the bodies of the dead were placed on scaffolds until the flesh rotted away and the bones were easily removed and cleaned. The bones were then buried in the ground under the

former dwellings of the deceased. The Assateagues of the Eastern Shore had a similar custom with regard to the burial of their chiefs. Of them we know, moreover, that the bones of dead chiefs were enclosed in boxes covered with skins. What space remained was filled with roanoke (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. V, p. 480). These gleanings are the result of a pretty careful review of the *Maryland Archives* and scanty enough they are.

It would seem to me that some mention of the Piscattaway "tayacs" or emperors of the historical period is here in order, although we know little or nothing of the personal characteristics of most of them.

At the time of the founding of Maryland (1634) Wannis was emperor and it was he who received ("welcomed" would scarcely be the word) Leonard Calvert on his first visit to Piscattaway. In one of the "Annual Letters of the Jesuits" (1639) he is referred to as "Uwanno," a name which is no doubt a form of Wannis (*Narratives of Early Maryland,* p. 126). In a petition of Captain William Claiborne, dated June 20th, 1634, there is a reference to "Wannis the greate Kinge of Pascatyeon" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. V, p. 165). The form which the name of the people here assumes is interesting as being, possibly, closer to the true Indian word. It is the form under which the name occurs in the record of 1624, which is quoted above. In these same Claiborne papers, under the same date, we find mention of the "King of Pascatacon" and of "Pascatacon," the place (*ibid.,* pp. 166, 167). At a conference held at Portobacke (Portobacco), on May 15th, 1662, between Governor Calvert and representatives of the Piscattaway nation, who were then without an emperor, the Indians explained that "Wannas their last lawfull kinge" was done to death by Kittamaquund "to the end hee might enjoy the Crowe (crown) by right of theire succession Brother always succeeding to the Brother till they be all dead" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. III, pp. 453, 454). The Indian emperor Wannas died about 1636 (Letter of Leonard Calvert to Lord Baltimore, April 25th, 1638, *Narratives of Early Maryland,* pp. 158, 159). Kittama-

quund's fratricidal act accomplished its object and he succeeded Wannas as emperor. Of this "emperor" we know more than we do of any of the others, earlier or later ("Annual Letters of the Jesuits," *Narratives of Early Maryland,* pp. 124-136). Miss Elizabeth Rigby has written most interestingly of him and of his family in this *Magazine* (Vol. XXIX, p. 212 et seq.) and to rehearse the facts would be quite superfluous. Leonard Calvert calls him "my brother Porttobacco," for what reason we do not know (*Narratives of Early Maryland,* p. 158), while in the Jesuit letter of 1639 he is referred to as "Chitomachon" (*ibid.,* p. 131). This last may represent an effort to come closer to the real Indian pronunciation of his name. Kittamaquund, styled "the great Tayac," died in the year 1641 (Jesuit letter of 1642, *ibid.,* p. 136). It was he who delegated to the English the right to choose the Piscattaway emperors (*Mayland Archives,* Vol. II, p. 15). After the death of Kittamaquund this right was exercised and Wahocasso (Weghucasso) was chosen emperor (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. III, pp. 402, 403, 453, 454). He belonged to one of two families living at Piscattaway, out of which the emperors were selected. The other family was the family of Wannis (*ibid.,* pp. 481, 483). On February 23rd, 1658/9, he was reported to be "dead or ready to die"; whereupon it was resolved by the Governor and Council "that wee should Endeavour the making of a new Emperour in case he dye" (*ibid.,* p. 360). The emperor died and on December 20th, 1660, the "great men" of some of the subsidiary tribes, together with the brother of the new Emperor of Piscattaway, appeared before Governor Philip Calvert and tendered a present from Uttapoingasenem, "present Emperor" (*ibid.,* pp. 402, 403).

The Governor was probably taken by surprise or at least displeased if he already knew about this affair, as he undoubtedly had expected to have a hand in it. He inquired how Uttapoingassenem came to be emperor, "whether by Succession or Election." The Indians' answer is the well-known passage concerning their manner of electing their kings, to which allu-

sions have already been made in this article. Uttapoingassenem enjoyed his new powers but a short time and on May 15th, 1662, he was formally reported dead by delegates of the Piscattaway nation, who held a meeting on that date with Governor Charles Calvert at Portobacke (Portobacco) (*ibid.*, pp. 453, 454). The Governor, through an interpreter, made known to these Indians that he was come to Portobacke " to appoint them a King or Emperour " and desired to know if they were ready to join with him " in that affaire," after which purely formal exchanges the Indians gave a detailed account of their emperors since Wannas and ended by requesting that Wannasapapin, the son of Wannas, might be selected to succeed Uttapoingassenem. The Governor acquiesced in this proposal and the Indian delegates promised to notify him as soon as they had prepared a house and " other necessaries " for the new emperor, in order that he might place Wannasapapin " in possession of the Empire over them." They were thereupon instructed to " prepare all things " for the reception of Wannasapapin and to notify the Governor immediately afterwards, so that he might appoint a time " to place him in the possession of the Governm^{t}." It may here be noted that there was nothing in the shape of a " royal " residence at Piscattaway. The emperors lived in Indian cabins, which were probably somewhat larger and better appointed than those of the commonality of the people. When an emperor died, his remains, or at least his bones were, in all probability, buried beneath his house, after which it was allowed to fall in ruins. Notice that all was in readiness for the formalities incident to the chosing of the new emperor was duly communicated to the Governor, who arrived by appointment at Piscattaway May 30th, 1662, accompanied by the Hon. Henry Sewell and Jerome White, Esq. The following day came the kings and " great men " of " all the Neighbouring Townes," who sat in council with the great men of Piscattaway concerning the coming election. The election took place on June 1st, when the Indians presented Nattowasso, aged about eleven years, and desired the Governor to confirm their choice of him as emperor. They stated that he was the son

of Wahocasso, the late emperor, who belonged to one of the two families from which their emperors were regularly selected. They proposed to marry him to a daughter of the family of Wannys, "now lyving att Pascatoway," who was of about the same age, "whenas they shall attaine to mature years." The Governor demurred about this marriage, alleging "there being time enough before eyther of them bee of mature age to discusse that Business." As this expression of opinion seems rather unnecessary, it may be that his idea was simply not to let the Indians have their own way in every respect. The Governor, no doubt with good reason drawn from past events, warned the Indians against doing any harm to Nattowasso "uppon any pretence, eyther by poysoning of him or by other indirect wayes." What had become of Wannasapapin we are not told, but it seems not impossible that his disappearance was involved in dark mystery. After Governor Calvert had confirmed the election of Nattowasso, whose name was thereupon changed to Wahocasso, "some few Indian ceremonies passed," upon which the English departed from Piscattaway.

On April 20th, 1666, a new treaty of peace between Lord Baltimore and the Piscattaway Indians was drawn up (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. II, p. 25). Some eleven subject peoples are mentioned as included in this compact. The Indians on this occasion reported to the Governor the recent death of the youth, "Wahocasso the second," the former Nattowasso, their emperor. They acknowledged again the right of the Lord Proprietary to appoint emperors to govern them. It was mentioned in the treaty that the Governor was to go to Piscattaway to appoint a new emperor, on which occasion the "peace here concluded" was to be signed by those "great men" who were absent from the making of the treaty, under pain of being declared public enemies. This Indian treaty was promptly ratified by the Assembly (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. II, p. 131). That the new emperor was duly appointed or invested with his rank at Piscattaway by Governor Calvert is possible, although failure to find any record of this event casts a doubt on the presumption

that it actually occurred. The treaty of April 20th, 1666, is written into the proceedings of the Council of May 22nd, 1680 (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, pp. 289-291). The treaty is signed by seven chiefs, including Monattabone, who signed for Piscattaway and "Sacayo." These signatures are ostensibly those of the "great men" who were present at the making of the treaty. There is nothing to show that the absentee chiefs or the emperor, who was later elected, ever affixed their marks to this treaty. While the name of the emperor who succeeded Nattowasso is not known to a certainty, there is not much doubt that he was Nicotaghsen. Such was the name of the Piscattaway emperor, who was living in 1678 (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 185). A later record, of May 17th, 1680, seems to mean that the Indian who was then emperor, had, in that capacity, participated in the making of the treaty of peace of the year 1666, afterwards ratified July 20th, 1670 (*ibid.,* p. 284). As a matter of fact the Piscattaways had no emperor when the treaty of 1666 was made; but it may have been understood that Nicotaghsen, being elected to that office as Nattowasso's successor, became in that way a party to that treaty, although it is by no means certain that he ever signed it. On July 20th, 1670, the "speaker" and other great men of Piscattaway presented to Philip and William Calvert a petition desiring the renewal of the treaty of 1666 and, on being informed that these gentlemen wished to make an appointment with the emperor for the last day of October following, replied that the emperor "was at the Sasquehannoughs" (a rather extraordinary piece of news) and that they could not make any engagements for him (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. V, p. 65). On March 19th, 1679/80, the emperor was reported to be at the Piscattaway fort "soe sick that he could not come" to a conference with the English (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 236); but he seems to have survived his ailment. In a letter of William Chandler, addressed to Lord Baltimore and dated May 2nd, 1682, there is a reference to the "Young Emperor" of Piscattaway, who was then with his Indians at Zachia fort (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XVII, p. 112).

These words are rather suggestive of the thought that Nicotaghsen had died some time between that date and May 17th, 1680, the last date on which we can identify him as mentioned, although he is not then named. It is quite possible that the "young emperor" was that Ocotomaquath or Othotomaquah, who led the Piscattaways out of Maryland and into the wilds of Virginia in 1697. As emperor of Piscattaway he signed a treaty with Governor Lionel Copley May 14th, 1692 (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XIII, pp. 268, 270). On July 7th, 1696, he was formally commissioned commander of all of the Indians living on the Western Shore (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XIX, p. 457). The last emperor of the Piscattaways who lived and ruled in the old historical home of that people, was a man whom many unfavorable contacts with our English antecedents had endowed with a burden of suspicion of their motives. These suspicions were on the whole doubtless salutary, and while some of his people wanted to return to their old haunts and a few did so, their removal, which he brought about, was probably in the end much for the good of the greater number. In the fastnesses, in which they found a refuge, they regained the freedom which our people had taken away from them. Of this man, who, so far as Maryland history is concerned, may properly be regarded as the last chief of the Piscattaways, we know some things to his credit: Philip Haskins and William Dent, who visited him at his fort on Conoy (now Heater's) Island in Potomac River, reported that "he speaks in English as well as in the Indian tongue and exhibits considerable dignity and intelligence" (*Virginia State Papers,* 1652-1781, p. 70).

Part Two: *Piscattaway, the Place.*

The answer to the question as to where, precisely, was the principal home and seat of the Piscattaway Indians, the dominant Indian people of Southern Maryland in historical times, has not been known for a matter of, perhaps, close to two hundred years. It is all very well to say, as most persons interested in Maryland history will say, that it was somewhere in the

neighborhood of Piscattaway Creek. That creek has a length of three miles from its mouth to the narrow gut where Piscattaway Run comes in. For archaeological and antiquarian purposes the description, " somewhere on Piscattaway Creek," is useless.

The term, " Piscattaway," is used sometimes to mean the region round about Piscattaway Creek and the neighboring banks of Potomac River. In the Jesuit letter of 1639 there is a reference to " Kittamaquund, the metropolis of Pascatoa," where the " palace " of the emperor or tayac of Piscattaway was then situated (" Annual Letters of the Jesuits," *Narratives of Early Maryland,* p. 124). This place, the writer of the letter tells us, was distant one hundred and twenty miles from the mission house at Matapania. Further on in the same letter we are informed that the ceremonies incident to the baptism of the tayac (Kittamaquund) would shortly be held at Kittamaquund, and would be attended by the Governor of the province and by " other distinguished men of the colony " (*ibid.,* p. 129).

The Indian reservation, which was laid out August 25th, 1669, for the benefit of the Piscattaway Indians and their confederates (see Appendix), took in the land between Piscattaway Creek, Potomac River and Mattawoman Creek. It ran up Piscattaway Run to a place not yet ascertained, where it was connected by a line running north and south with a point on Mattawoman Creek, where the Indian path from Piscattaway to Zachia crossed that creek. This reservation undoubtedly took in all of the settlements of the Piscattaway Indians which existed at that time.

The place, " Pascataway," is indicated on that early map of Maryland (1635), the work of T. Cecill, which accompanies the anonymous " Relation of Maryland," a reproduction of which is published in *Narratives of Early Maryland,* at page one. This, so far as I am aware, is the first appearance of the name on any map.

A careful study of old records of various descriptions reveal but two principal seats of the Piscattaways existing during the historical period: (1) a town sometimes known as Accokeek (or

Aquakeeke), which was located on Potomac River below the mouth of Piscattaway Creek; (2) the Indian fort, which stood on the top of a high hill situated near and on the south side of Piscattaway Creek in the immediate neighborhood of the site of Old Farmington Landing. It was, as we shall presently see, the scene of at least one historical event of great picturesqueness, and probably of others equally colorful and interesting. I am willing to hazard the guess that this was that Kittamaquund, where the baptism of the Indian emperor took place in 1639. The site of the old Indian fort on the hilltop near Farmington Landing, though forgotten for two centuries, is one of the oldest and most truly historical sites in the State of Maryland.

(1) Aquakeeke Indian Town.

In the Archives of Maryland we find a reference (1651) to Piscattaway River (the Potomac), "which runneth by Piscattaway" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. I, p. 349.). On September 11th, 1653, there was surveyed for Giles Brent, Jr., a tract of land containing eight hundred acres and described as situated "on the south side of Potomac River opposite against the Indian town of Pascattaway" (*Virginia Land Patents,* Liber III, folio 210) This patent was renewed to Giles Brent on November 3rd, 1662, and the above description is then repeated (*Virginia Land Patents,* Liber IV, folio 417). In his *Landmarks of Old Prince William,* Mr. Fairfax Harrison, the author, mentions a certain land title set up in the year 1653, which is described as "opposite the Indian town of Pascataway," and which some years later is referred to as "opposite the Annacostan Indian town called Aquakick" (*Landmarks of Old Prince William,* Vol. I, p. 57). The only patent to which this could possibly have reference is the Brent patent of 1653. The explanation of the fact that Aquakick (Accokeek) is referred to as an Annacostan town (Mr. Harrison does not name the record or give us its date) is that the Anacostan Indians, who formerly lived on the Eastern Branch of Potomac, had been in-

corporated with the Piscattaways, with whom they had not previously been on friendly terms, and were allowed to settle on the reservation laid out in the year 1669. Apparently they must have chosen Accokeek as their place of residence. There is no mention of Anacostans in the Spencer and Washington grant of March 1st, 1674, the later "Mount Vernon" (see Appendix), which is described as lying "neere oppositt to Piscatoway." On August 13th, 1662, there was surveyed for Randle Hanson (otherwise known as Randolph Hinson, or Henson) a tract of land, containing five hundred acres, to which no name was then given in the record, but which, it would appear, was called "Hinsonton." This land is described as situated on the east side of Pascattaway River (the Potomac) "near unto an old Indian Town called Aquakeeke" (for full description see Appendix). In a deposition taken March 31st, 1713, Francis Marbury proved the beginning hickory of this land to have stood on a point of Potomac River at or near the mouth of a small creek formerly called "Akakeeth Creek" (see Appendix). This little creek empties into the Potomac on the line which divides Prince George's County from Charles. In this deposition Marbury refers to a time some seventeen or eighteen years before when he went to see Randolph Hynson "in order to buy or purchase his Land in Akakeek." The two tracts of land taken up by Randall (Randolph) Hanson (Hinson, Henson) in the years 1662 and 1663, respectively, lie on Potomac River on both sides of the mouth of Accokeek Creek. The lower of the two tracts, "Charley" (see Appendix), once belonged to the Marshall family and a part of it was incorporated in the Marshall Hall estate. The upper tract, "Hansonton," lies along the river from the mouth of the creek formerly called Accokeek Creek, near the county line, to a boundary on the river not far above Bryant Point, at which place the Manor of Piscattaway or Calvert's Manor (see Appendix) begins. I am of the opinion that the Indian town of Aquakeeke or Accokeek lay above the mouth of the creek of that name and between that creek and the mouth

of Piscattaway Creek. The Brent grant of 1653 apparently lies above Mount Vernon. The former lies "neere opposit" the Indian town; the latter opposite to it. Mount Vernon lies opposite to the shore between Bryant's Point and Marshall Hall.

Accokeek or Aquakeeke is seldom mentioned under these names. In a letter of Governor Sir Edmund Andross addressed to Governor Nicholson and dated June 12th, 1697, there is an allusion to the "'' Accokick" Indians, meaning, of course, not a separate people, but merely the Indians of the place of that name (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXIII, p. 142). In an interview between the Governor of Maryland and Ocotomaquath, the Piscattaway emperor, which took place at Annapolis, April 8th, 1700, the governor gave the Indian chieftain the choice of Accokick or Pamunkey as a place of residence, if he and his people should return to live in Maryland (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXV, p. 84). The Indian town of Accokick must not be confused with the village of that name, which lies some three miles back from Potomac River. This village is referred to in an order of Prince George's County court of 1731 or thereabouts, wherein we find a house situated at Accokeek designated as a place of worship (*Prince George's County Court Proceedings,* Vol. 1730-1732, p. 92). The village took its name from the Indian town, as indeed did the creek and the neck thereabouts.

The question of the antiquity of the sites in the neighborhood of Piscattaway Creek as the homes of that particular people who were styled the Piscattaways, is one which, unfortunately, is scarcely likely to be settled by means of historical sources. Some help may be derived from a passage in the *Maryland Archives,* to which reference has previously been made. On the occasion of the election of the youth, Nattowasso, as emperor, on June 1st, 1663, the Piscattoway chiefs informed Governor Calvert that they were accustomed to select their kings out of two families: "in times past there were lyving att Pascattoway Two ffamilies; out of w^{ch} Two ffamilies their Kings were chosen. The one being the ffamily of Wannys; The other the ffamily

of Wahocasso" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. III, pp. 481-483). Indian memory was notoriously short, but it was certainly no shorter than the memories of the oldest inhabitants, of whom there must have been several at least at that time at Piscattaway, who were "in their eighties" or older. It can hardly be doubted that the above quoted words hark back to a time previous to the founding of Maryland. Is it not probable that the earliest time to which they have reference was anterior to the founding of Virginia?

But why, the reader may well ask, if Piscattaway existed in 1608, when Captain John Smith explored Chesapeake Bay and Potomac River, do we not find on his Map of Virginia some place which we can readily identify with that place? The author confesses that this question is too much for him, unless the fact that the map is so crude in detail excuses him. Semmes, in his "Aboriginal Maryland," tentatively identifies Piscattaway with Pamacocock; but in a note gives good authority for the belief that Pamacocock is etymologically the same word as Pamunkey (Semmes, "Aboriginal Maryland, Part 2," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. XXIV, p. 203). As this seems to be the case, it appears to me scarcely doubtful that Pamacocock was no other than the Pamunkey Indian town of history, which was situated not far down the river from Accokeek Indian town; and if this is true, then Accokeek or Aquakeeke may be Cinquateck, the next village above Pamacocock on Smith's map (*ibid.,* p. 204). Next above Cinquaeteck came Moyaons or Moyawance (*ibid.,* p. 205). Semmes locates this tentatively near Broad Creek, and so does a writer in the *Handbook of American Indians* (q. v., under "Moyawance"). Harrison is of the opinion that "Mayaones" was on Piscattaway Creek (*Landmarks of Old Prince William,* Vol. I, p. 19). It should be clearly noted that Captain John Smith, writing in 1622, distinguishes between the "Pazaticans" and the "Moyoans" (*Smith Works,* Arbor Edition, p. 586).

Before ceasing to deal with this vexed question, we had

better state that if the Piscattaway fort on Piscattaway Creek existed in Captain John Smith's day, there is no likelihood that he discovered it in its hidden recess when he made his famous voyage of the year 1608. On the other hand, if the fort was standing in 1632, it is not improbable that it was " Pascatowie " to which Fleete refers in his journal.

(2) The Fort on Piscattaway Creek.

It is not unlikely that at all times in their history the more important Indian groups and peoples of Maryland possessed forts, to which they resorted when attacked by enemies in superior numbers, and which in times of peace frequently, if not always, inclosed the residences of their chiefs and others, and within which important ceremonies took place. There exist records of the forts of the Tocwoghs, Choptanks, Nanticokes, Mattawomans and Anacostans. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the ruins of two Indian forts were still to be seen near Susquehanna River in Cecil County. One of these ruins was at the mouth of Octorara Creek, the other about three-quarters of a mile away. The Susquehannocks enforted themselves near Piscattaway Creek in 1675; the Northern Indians did the same a few years later at Zachiah.

As to the character of Indian forts there is the well-known account of the fort of the Tocwoghs, visited by Captain John Smith in 1608, and later described by him. This fort was probably situated on Sassafras River. Other descriptions of Indian forts within the present confines of Maryland are not lacking. In the year 1740 certain persons were called upon to make depositions on behalf of the Penn family in connection with the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary dispute which was then still unsettled. The object of having these depositions recorded appears to have been in order to prove, or at least to imply, that the Susquehannock Fort of 1682, by which the line between the two colonies was supposed to run, was situated near

the mouth of Octorara Creek. It is worthy of note that the deponents indulged in no speculations as to what Indians were the builders and occupants of the forts they describe, although one of them, John Hans Steelman, the noted Indian trader, who was born about 1655, being then eighty-five years old, when he deposed, must have had some pretty interesting ideas on the subject. Steelman defined the difference between an Indian fort and an Indian town: An Indian fort was a house or a number of houses surrounded by stakes of wood and a bank of earth. An Indian town consisted of a number of cabins built close to each other without any surrounding stakes or palisades. He testified that some forty or fifty years before he had seen an Indian town on a point about half a mile above the mouth of Octorara Creek. Hard by this place he saw an Indian fort, consisting of a great number of poles or stakes of wood set up and a bank of earth thrown up about the same. John Hendricks, aged seventy-three years, described the difference between an Indian fort and an Indian town in the same words. He declared that some fifty years before he saw the Indian town described by Steelman, which consisted of some forty cabins and stood upon the point of land forming the mouth of Octorara Creek on the north side, within half a mile of the creek and Susquehanna River, which town had stakes of wood and a bank cast up round it and was called by the Indians of the place "meanock," which signified in English a fortification. Elizabeth Murphy, who had formerly lived near this place, described the ruins of the fort, which she remembered having seen upwards of thirty years before. These consisted of "a large bank cast up": "and the tops of the Pallisadoe that had been there appeared to be rotted off and the stumps of them remained in the ground" (*Pennsylvania Archives,* 2nd Series, Vol. XVI, pp. 522 et seq.).

No less than five Piscattaway forts are known to have existed. Of these the one on Piscattaway Creek is the earliest of which we have record. They abandoned it in 1680 and repaired to

Zachia Swamp, where they erected a fort in time to stand a siege at the hands of the Iroquois. When they left Maryland in 1697 and sought refuge in the then unsettled parts of Virginia, they built a fort between two mountain ranges in what is now Fauquier County. Two years later they forsook this place for an island in Potomac River near what is now called Point of Rocks and there they built a fort for their protection. Of their fort near Rock Creek little or nothing is known.

The representatives of the Piscattaways and their allies, who held a meeting with Governor Philip Calvert on December 20th, 1660, reported to the governor that five of their people had lately been killed by the " Cinigos " (Senecas), who " threatened their Forte for being friends to us (the English) and the Sasquehannoughs who are at warre with the said Janedoas or Cinigos wherefore they (the Piscattaways) desired that for pay they might have foure English men to help them make their Forte " (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. III, p. 403). The sense of this record seems to be this: that a fort already existed at Piscattaway and that the Senecas had tried to take it. The Piscattaways desired the help of the English to make over their fort according to English ideas of fortification. We are reminded that this was actually done for the Susquehannocks at their fort on Susquehanna River. But what was done in the present instance we do not know. The Governor replied that he would consult the Council about this request and return an answer, but the nature of his answer, if he ever made it, I have been unable to ascertain.

The above cited record is the earliest reference to a fort at Piscattaway which I have been able to find. My own opinion is that this fortified site probably existed long before the date of the notice just quoted; that it was the place most often meant by " Piscattaway " and that perhaps it was no other than " Kittamaquund " itself. If the Indians had in mind a definite place when they spoke about the two families " lyving att Pascattaway," out of which they chose their emperors (see above), I have little doubt that it was the fort to which they referred. The

fort was without question their safest, if not their most holy retreat, and it certainly was in existence at that time (1663). That the *Maryland Archives* are silent respecting the existence of a fort at Piscattoway before 1660 does not surprise us so much, when we find that those Archives which date between 1660 and 1678 contain no mention of it, so far as my researches have disclosed (see *Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, pp. 187, 196, 198 for mention of the fort, 1678). On January 31st, 1678/9, a certain Wassetas, a Piscattoway Indian who was accused of murdering an English woman, was said to be "living in the ffort" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 223). This record is interesting as showing that a man of the people made his home in the fort. The same year the Piscattaway fort is described as "three moons journey" from the towns of the Five Nations (*ibid.,* p. 240). On March 19th, 1679/80, the emperor of Piscattaway was reported to be at the fort so ill that he was unable to travel to attend a conference with the Governor (*ibid.,* p. 236). On May 12th, 1680, information came to the government that Seneca and Susquehannock Indians had built a fort for themselves about five hundred yards distant from the Piscattaway fort and within sight of it (*ibid.,* pp. 280-282). The Susquehannocks, then joined with the Five Nations, were burning with a desire to revenge themselves on the Piscattaways on account of the fact that the latter had sided with Maryland when the colony made war on them in 1676. The hostile forces were estimated to number two hundred, but no general assault was made on the Piscattaway fort and in a few days the enemy went away (*ibid.,* p. 283). Captain Randolph Brandt asserted that he found an Englishman at the fort in the emperor's cabin, who was suffering from a wound in the leg. These were dark days for the Piscattaways, who scarcely knew where to turn in their efforts to protect themselves from the assaults of the Northern Indians and their implacable allies, the Susquehannocks. Deeply impressed by the narrow escape which he and his people had just had, the emperor considered the advisability of removing to Mattawoman "from the place of his wonted habitation," i. e.,

the fort (*ibid.*, p. 284). About this time an invitation arrived from the Emperor of Nanticoke, who offered an asylum to the harassed Piscattaways. Lord Baltimore sent them a message signifying his readiness to provide the Piscattaways with sloops and shallops to transport them across the Bay (*ibid.*, p. 285); but the invitation was not accepted. The King of Mattawoman declared that the Eastern Shore Indians were as much their enemies as the Susquehannocks (*ibid.*, p. 300) and voiced the opinion, which was no doubt well founded, that if they went to the Eastern Shore, the English would take possession of their reservation in Southern Maryland. On May 29th, 1680, Captain Brandt wrote to Lord Baltimore to say that he had been credibly informed by a man who "this day came . . . from Coll Darnalls upper plantation by way of Pascattoway," that "the Indians had deserted their ffort" (*ibid.*, p. 300). The Piscattaways were willing to remove either to Choptico, Mattawoman or Zachiah (*ibid.*, pp. 300, 302, 303), but preferred Choptico. Zachiah, however, was picked out for them and they were notified to repair thence "and there to seate themselves und^{r} such ffortifications as they shall think fitt to Erect for their Safe guard and Defence" (*ibid.*, p. 304). Meanwhile the Piscattaways had sent agents to the Northern Indians, but these were unable to reach their destination and came back, having accomplished nothing in the interest of peace (*ibid.*, p. 287). The removal of the Piscattaways from their old fort to Zachiah Swamp was blamed for the massacre which, it was said, nearly wiped out the Mattawoman people, who were abandoned "upon the ffrontire open to the Enemy" (*ibid.*, pp. 314, 329, 330). On June 28th, 1680, Captain Brandt addressed a letter to Lord Baltimore, in which he communicated the news that the Piscattaways were reported to have "discovered the Enemy," and expressed it as his opinion that "they (the Northern Indians) will be foul of them before their ffort is finished" (*ibid.*, p. 304). Evidently the fort in Zachiah Swamp was then building.

In a letter addressed to Captain Randolph Brandt and dated June 28th, 1680, Lord Baltimore desired the captain to inform

the Piscattaways " that if they leave their old fort it will be but discretion in them to Demolish it and not to suffer it to stand for the Enemy to enter " (*ibid.*, p. 304). Assuming that it was duly transmitted to the Indians, we find no certain evidence, however, that this admonition was ever carried out. In a letter of August 10th, 1681, Captain Brandt, reporting to Lord Baltimore about a visit paid by him with a troop of horse to Zachiah Fort, then besieged by the Northern Indians, stated, among other things, that he " found a greate tract leading towards the old Pascattoway ffort," which presumably were the footprints of some of the enemy who had recently gone that way (*ibid.*, pp. 408, 409). Some later references to " Piscattaway Fort " (May, 1692) may refer either to the old fort or to the one at Zachiah (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XIII, pp. 2, 61, 263). It is by no means certain that the Piscattaways did not return to their old fort, repair, rebuild and reoccupy it, before their final departure in the year 1697. In that same year the Piscattaways told Governor Nicholson's agents, who visited them in their retreat in the Virginia mountains, that they were ready to return to Maryland to settle " either at their old ffort nigh Piscattoway of about Rock Creek " (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXIII, pp. 143-146). It is therefore extremely dubious if these Indians made any effort to accede to the Governor's advice. The old fort doubtless fell into disrepair, its stockade decayed and fell down in places, but of evidence that it was deliberately destroyed there appears to be none. The statement made by Hanna in " The Wilderness Trail," that the Susquehannocks, on their invasion of Maryland in the year 1675, took possession of an abandoned fort of the Piscattaway Indians, which was either on Piscattaway Creek or in Zachiah Swamp, seems to be without any foundation (*The Wilderness Trail,* Vol. I, p. 49). The Piscattaways did not abandon their fort on Piscattaway Creek until the spring of the year 1680. They erected their fort in Zachiah Swamp later the same year. The Susquehannock fort, which was assaulted by the combined Maryland and Virginia forces in the year 1675, and where the lamentable murder of the Susque-

hannock chiefs took place, was situated within three miles of the house of Randall Hanson (Randolph Hinson) (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 126; Vol. XVII, p. 151). This is all that we know definitely as to the situation of this historic fort. Almost certainly it was somewhere near Piscattaway Creek. Hanson, as we have seen, owned lands on Potomac River at Accokeke, extending along the river from about the site of Marshall Hall to the vicinity of Bryan's Point, at the time when the Susquehannocks assaulted his house (see *The Washingtons of Virginia,* by Edward Lee and L. J. McClain, I, pp. 189-194) just before the siege of their fort took place (see Appendix, where this question is further discussed). Their fort was unfinished when the forces under Trueman and Washington arrived before it (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. V, p. 134). This pretty well disposes of the notion that they had occupied an abandoned fort of the Piscattaway Indians. The year after their fort was taken, they erected a new one in Maryland, in 1676, probably somewhere on the Eastern Branch of Potomac River (see *Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXIII, p. 294). The Emperor of Piscattaway and the King of Mattawoman offered to march with the English against this fort (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 216). It was this action which got them into so much "hot water" and was all but fatal to the Mattawomans. It is probable, however, that they had no choice in the matter.

Information which should lead to the exact identification of the site of the historic Piscattaway fort on Piscattaway Creek, was discovered by this author by accident, while examining an old book of land commissions, which is one of the archives of Prince George's County. This book contains the proceedings of two commissions, which were held, respectively, in the years 1718 and 1719, on behalf of Thomas Edelen and George Noble, in connection with their suit against Daniel Dulany, in order to determine the bounds of a tract of land called "Piscattaway Manor" or "Calvert's Manor." Before each of these commissions Francis Marbury gave testimony in two lengthy depositions, of both of which I have made full copies. The information contained in the first of these depositions is covered, in so

far as it is of interest to us in these connections, by the information contained in the second. I have therefore quoted the second deposition in full and omitted the first (see Appendix). It should be remembered that Mr. Marbury's later testimony was accepted by the commissioners as a basis for the final survey of the manor.

Mr. Marbury's second deposition was taken on April 1st, 1719. He testified first as to the location of a bounded tree of Randall Hanson's land at Accokeek, on Potomac River, on which the bounds of Piscattaway Manor depended. Further on he gave testimony concerning the last bounded tree of the manor. This tree, it appears, was also the beginning of the land called "' Stone's Delight." It stood, according to Marbury's deposition, " in a branch upon Piscattaway Creek side near a parcell of Pine trees in an Indian field " (see Appendix for description of " Piscattaway Manor," as originally laid out, 1662, wherein this Indian field is called for) " and further this Deponent saith That Mr. Henson (Randall Henson or Hanson) told him when he went to buy the land (i. e., the land at Accokeeke), that Calverts land (Calvert or Piscattaway Manor) joined to his and did take in the Indian fort on the top of a high hill near Piscattaway Creeke and that he the said Henson was with Lord Baltimore at the chusing of an Indian Emperour at that fort that was in Calvert's land." There follows considerable testimony which is not here of especial interest, and then we read: " And further this Deponent saith that the High hill w.^{ch} he shewed the Comiss^{rs} near Piscattaway Creek is the hill topp on which the old Indian fort stood where M^{r} Henson told this Deponent he was with the Lord Baltimore at the chusing of an Indian emperour; which Indian fort said Henson told this Deponent was in Calvert's land, and this Deponent at the place aforesaid told the Comiss^{rs} that the trenches belonging to the said fort were very fresh and visible in his time and memory, and this deponent carrying the Comiss^{rs} a little further shewed them an Ashen Branch or Swamp upon Piscattaway Creek side very near a parcell of Pine trees standing in a piece of Ground

which had been an Indian field, which in this Deponents time and memory had been full of sedge grass and clear of Brushes and trees in which ashen swamp or Branch aforesaid this Deponent Believes the bounded ash the last tree of Calvert's land to have stood altho he never could find it."

Two plats of Piscattaway or Calvert's Manor are filed with the proceedings of the land commissions above mentioned. The later of the two, of which I made a copy, represents the final decision of the commissioners respecting the bounds and limits of the manor. This plat shows the manor as situated on the south side of Piscattaway Creek and as running to the mouth of the creek, being bounded on the north by the creek and on the west by Potomac River. The southern boundary of the manor on the river stands, as we have observed before, not far to the north of Bryan's Point. In this same book of land commissions are the proceedings of a commission held in March, 1719/20, to determine the bounds of the tract of land called "Stone's Delight" (pp. 78, 85, 86). The said tract was found to begin at the last bounded tree of Calvert's or Piscattaway Manor, by the side of Piscattaway Creek "at the mouth of an ashen swamp." With the proceedings of this commission is filed (between pages 91 and 92 of the land commission book) a plat, of which I have a copy, which shows the location of the ancient tracts, "Stone's Delight," "Saint Anthony's," "Saint James'" and "Saint Dorothy's" with reference to each other, to "Calvert's Manner" (*sic*) and to Piscattaway Creek, which last is here represented as a narrow estuary some two hundred feet wide. On this plat is shown the "ashen swamp," where the beginning of "Stone's Delight" and the last boundary of the manor stood. "Stone's Delight" is bounded on the west by the manor and on the north by the creek and on the east by "Saint Anthony's." The last named tract is bounded on the north by the creek and on the east by "Saint James," which last is bounded on the north by Piscattaway Creek. When these two plats, which are drawn to the same scale, are joined together, the deep cove of Piscattaway Creek, which is indicated on the plat

of the manor as lying adjacent to the last boundary to the westward, becomes recognizable as the cove which lies immediately east of Old Farmington Landing. Distances as measured on these plats and on the modern Maryland Geological Survey's topographical map of Prince George's County, agree more or less closely. According to a survey made for the commissioners on April 3rd, 1719 (see Appendix for full description) the third line of the manor runs from three bounded Spanish oaks beside the road leading from Piscattaway (the village) to Portobacco, north twenty-three degrees west to Piscattaway Creek, " which line intersects the said Creeke in an Ashen Pocoson (swamp) in the mouth of a branch called Piney Branch otherwise Pockett's Branch." This line undoubtedly took in the hill on which the old fort stood. The reader is reminded that after Francis Marbury had shown the commissioners the hill top where the fort had stood, he conducted them " a little further " to the " Ashen Swamp." Modern maps show a stream of about a mile and a half in length, which discharges itself into Piscattaway Creek at the upper end of the cove which lies directly east of Old Farmington. This stream today goes by no particular name, but it is hardly to be doubted that it is the Piney Branch of the old record. A line drawn on the map from the mouth of this stream in a direction the reverse of that of the third line of the manor will end at the road leading from Piscattaway village to Portobacco at the proper distance, more or less. This line, with due allowance for small errors and inaccuracies, will skirt the eastern base of a hill which attains a height of one hundred feet. This hill forms the eastern flank of the valley of the stream identified as Piney Branch. The summit of this hill lies somewhat less than three-quarters of a mile from the mouth of this " branch." No other hill-top lies so near to this place. A road runs over this hill, connecting the main road from Accokeek to T. B. with the road from Accokeek to the little village of Piscattaway. This hill, in my opinion, was the site of the old Indian fort.

Francis Marbury obtained his information from Randall

Hanson about the site of the Piscattaway fort either in the year 1695 or in 1696. The reader will observe that the occasion was a meeting he had with Hanson about the purchase of the latter's land "at Acokeke" (see Appendix, wherein Marbury's deposition is quoted in part). Reference has already been made to a deposition of Francis Marbury, taken March 31st, 1713, relative to the boundaries of Piscattaway Manor (see above; see also Appendix), in which the deponent mentions an occasion of seventeen or eighteen years before, when he "went down to Mr Randolph Hynson (Randall Hanson) in order to buy or purchase his land in Akakeek," at which time Hanson gave him some information about the bounds of his own land, on which the bounds of the manor depended.

Our interest now centers in the identification of that historical event, of which, according to his own statement, Randall Hanson was a witness and of which the fort on Piscattaway Creek was the scene: the election of the Indian emperor, at which Lord Baltimore presided. Governor Charles Calvert, afterwards third Lord Baltimore, came to Maryland in 1661 (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. XIV, p. 56). He took his final leave of the Province in 1684 (*ibid.,* p. 56; see also *Maryland Archives,* Vol. XIII, p. 5). As we have already noted, he was present at Piscattaway on June 1st, 1663, when the boy Nattowasso was chosen emperor. A few years later Nattowasso, then known as Wahocasso, the Second, died. We have seen how, at the making of a treaty of peace between the Lord Proprietary and the Piscattaways and their allies, on April 20th, 1666, the emperor's death was reported and it was taken for granted that Governor Calvert should go to Piscattaway in order to attend and to ratify the formal selection of a new emperor. Whether or not this election ever took place with Governor Calvert present is extremely dubious. I find no record of it. The Piscattaways, of course, chose an emperor to succeed Nattowasso; but it is quite possible that Governor Calvert, setting little store by the diminishing importance of a privilege which Kittamaquund had conferred on his father, never took the

trouble of making the journey to Piscattaway, in order to go through with the ceremonies incident to the election of the new emperor. It is a question as to what elections of Indian emperors took place at Piscattaway between the date of the above mentioned treaty and the early summer of the year 1680, when the Piscattaways abandoned their old fort on Piscattaway Creek and repaired to Zachiah Swamp. On May 1st, 1680, Lord Baltimore and his Council considered the appeal of the emperor of Piscattaway for leave to desert his fort at Piscattaway and to seek refuge at Mattawoman. His Lordship then commanded "the severall Articles of peace with the said Emperour and Nacons under his Command to be read" whereupon the said articles were read and it appeared "by the said Articles made with the said Emperor in the Assembly held in the year 1666: and afterwards renewed & ratified by his Lspps Deputy Lieutenants 20th July, 1670 (see *Maryland Archives,* Vol. V, p. 65, for the record to which allusion is here made) that in case of Danger his Lspps Governor here shall appoint a place to wch the Indians und^{r} the said Emperors Command shall bring their wives and Children" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 284). The erroneous statement contained in the above record has already been pointed out: The Piscattaway Indians had no emperor, when the treaty of 1666 was made. That fact is made plain in the treaty itself, and it must have been clear to Lord Baltimore and to the Council, when the treaty was read to them. It may be that they knew that the present emperor was Nattowasso's successor, duly elected about 1666 and in that sense a party to the treaty made earlier in that year with his people. If that was the case, his name was Nicotaghsen, for, as we have seen above, such was the name of the Indian emperor in 1678. It is quite possible that Nicotaghsen was no other than that Monattabone, who, as one of the head men of the Piscattaways affixed his mark to the treaty of 1666 (see above). On the other hand, it may be that we have to deal with a very ambiguous record and that several emperors actually intervened between Nattowasso and Nicotaghsen. Be this as it may, I find but one

historical instance of the election of an Indian emperor at Piscattaway at which Governor Charles Calvert, later the third Lord Baltimore, presided: the ceremonial occasion which came to an end on June 1st, 1663. It is my honest opinion that this was the occasion to which Hanson referred in his conversation with Francis Marbury.

We might add that Randall Hanson, as he was generally called (he calls himself Randolph Hynson in his will and it is under this name that Francis Marbury refers to him) was an officer of the militia and a man of some local distinction, who, as we have already noted, acquired landed interests at Piscattaway in 1662. It was no doubt in a military capacity and as an officer of the guard that he attended the Indian emperor's election at the Piscattaway Fort.

On abandoning their fort on Piscattaway Creek, the Piscattaway Indians, as we have already noted, acting according to the instructions of Lord Baltimore, sought refuge in Zachiah Swamp, where they built a new fort, which was under construction about the middle of the year 1680. It seems most probable that the place selected by them as the site of their new fort was an old settlement of their allies, the Zachiah Indians, the place called Zachiah or Sacayo. By order of the Provincial Court, which met on February 9th, 1663/4, the Indians of Sackayo and Portoback were instructed to make pounds, in which they were to pen up the stock of English planters which did damage to their corn fields, the animals so impounded to be redeemed by their owners on payment of a fine (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XLIX, p. 139). By way of parenthesis let us say here that the Maryland Indians originally, or so it would appear, never fenced in their fields. On November 17, 1663, the Queen of Portoback complained to the Council that the depredations caused by the cattle and hogs of the English had compelled her and her people to forsake " their ancient plantacons by the River side " (Potomac), " they not knowing the way and meanes to fence in their Corne ffeilds as the English doe " (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. III, p. 489). At the making of the treaty of 1666 the Piscat-

taways and their allies were enjoined to fence in their fields, excepting the Nanjemaicks, who, it seems, already had fences around theirs (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, pp. 290, 291). There were fences about the corn fields at Zachiah in 1681 (*ibid.,* p. 374). The "Sacayo" Indians were among those confederates of the Piscattaway Indians, who signed the treaty with Maryland in 1666 (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 289). Now, on May 1st, 1665, there was ordered to be reserved for Lord Baltimore in Charles County two manors of six thousand acres each: the one about the town of Pangaia, the other including the town of "Sackaio" (Kilty's *Landholder's Assistant,* pp. 99, 100). These towns, in my opinion, were unquestionably Indian settlements. Kilty says that these were Indian lands (*ibid.*, p. 100). In a record of 1658 we find mention of a "Pangayo" Indian (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XLI, p. 200). The Pangayo Indians also were parties to the treaty of 1666. The Lord Proprietary's purpose in erecting these lands into manors for his own use was undoubtedly, in part at least, the more easily to protect the Indians in their right to their lands.[1] Zacaya Manor was laid out April 22nd, 1667

[1] Governor Charles Calvert, later Lord Baltimore, appears to have had a house of some sort, probably a small fort where an agent resided, at Zachiah. At a meeting of the Assembly, held May 27th, 1674, there was read an act "for amending the Waies out of Charles County to the Cittie of St. Maries" and it was voted that "one way be made over Saccaia Swampe & tht. to be by Mr. Allens Mill or within two miles above it"; "& this House doe thinke the Way by his Excellencies house at Saccaia unnecessary for the present" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. II, p. 369). Now, in the journal of Colonels Coursey and Stevens, Lord Baltimore's agents, who, in August, 1681, were sent to treat with the Northern Indians at Zachiah Fort, we read, that on the 27th of that month, having first tarried over night at the plantation of James Bowling and having sent messengers ahead, they set out for "Zachajah house," which they reached about sunset. Here they got in touch with the Northern Indians. On hearing their demands the Indians promised an answer on the following day, whereupon the commissioners withdrew to the house of Captain William Barton, where they passed the night. The day following they returned to Zachiah House to receive the Indians' answer. Captain Randolph Brandt, who commanded the troop of horse which acted as their guard on this occasion, had spent the night there and reported to them "that there were

(Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland, Patents, Liber X, folio 488). This record is badly damaged. By a resurvey it was found to contain more than nine thousand acres. Brumbaugh gives a list of the lessees and patentees (several large patented tracts were laid out within this manor) as of 1768 (Brumbaugh's *Maryland Records,* Vol. II, p. 29 et seq.). The manor lies west of Zachiah Swamp, between the swamp and Portobacco. At what places it touches Zachiah Swamp I do not know, and knowledge that an Indian town lay within such a vast tract is of no help in locating it. The "Indian Reserve" or reservation, which was laid out on August 25th, 1669 (see Appendix) for the benefit of the Piscattaways and their allies, between Piscattaway Creek and Mattawoman Creek and bounded on the west by Potomac River, began "at Mattawoman Creek at a marked white oak standing near a path that leadeth over the said creek from Pascattoway unto Zaccaya." A tract of land called "Aix," which was surveyed for Ignatius Wheeler in the year 1687, begins "at a bounded spanish oak standing on the south side of Mattawoman Run on the east side of the path that goeth from Zachiah ffort to Piscattaway near the bounded tree (i. e., the beginning tree) of the Indian Reserve" (see Appendix). In other words, the same path which, in 1669, eleven years before Zachiah Fort was built, led from Piscattaway to Zachiah, in 1688 was described as leading from Piscattaway to the Zachiah Fort. This was probably the "Sakya path that leads to Piscattaway," which is mentioned in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "'Porke Hall" (see Appendix), which was taken up by James Smallwood on March 15th, 1688, "on the north side of the Piney Branch that falls into Mattawoman fresh run." Piney Branch (still so called) rises near Waldorf and empties into Mattawoman Run.

a greate many Gunns shott in the night." In other words he had heard the noise of the battle around Zachiah Fort (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XVII, pp. 14, 15). Zachiah House and Zachiah Fort were unquestionably at one and the same place. This is but another reason for assuming that the fort was built at the (Indian) town of Zachiah, since we would identify "his Excellencies house at Saccaia" with Zachiah House. It is also a reason for the belief that the fort stood upon the Manor of Zachiah.

Zachiah Fort, as we shall presently observe, was the scene of historical and very exciting events, and it is important that there should be here recorded everything which we have so far been able to ascertain as to its situation, in order that the exact site may some day be identified. It stood in Zachiah Swamp and on the western side of the fresh run which feeds the swamp. We know this from the fact that there is a reference, dated June 19th, 1681, to "the Pascattoway ffort at *Zachiah in Charles County*" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 354). At that time the "run" of Zachiah Swamp still formed the boundary between Charles and Saint Mary's Counties, according to a proclamation of Governor Fendall, dated May 10th, 1658 (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XLI, p. 88). This run has a total length of about nineteen miles, while the swamp, beginning at Wicomico River, extends upwards along the run for over thirteen miles. This is a very considerable distance within which to find that for which we are seeking. But assuming, as I do, that the town which we find referred to as "the Indian Towne Zachajah" adjoined Zachiah Fort, if it did not actually lie within the fort itself, I am in a position to speak much more definitely as to the fort's location:

On May 2nd, 1682, a certain Dennis Husculah, of Saint Mary's County, otherwise called Husculow, deposed in the presence of the Council, that he lived about five miles from the place where John Pryor, a London merchant, kept store "his house (Husculah's) being within four miles of the Indian Towne Zachajah." He declared that he often had occasion "to have conference with the said Indians" of that place and of late had been buying deer skins from them "to supply my greate necessity for Cloatheing." These Indians had informed him that they had been selling their deer skins to the aforesaid Pryor, and "of late he hath seen severall Indians pass by his house with bundles of Deere skinns, who told me that they had sold those Deere skinns to the aforesaid M^{r}chant." Merchants at that time were forbidden by Act of Assembly from purchasing deer skins of the Indians, because "the Inhabitants . . . are

hereby prevented from buying Deere skins of the s^{d} Indians the onely hopes of Cloatheing our selves this scarce years of goods." It was further explained that the residence of Pryor, the merchant, and the place where he kept store, when in Maryland, was at Westwood House, the property of Thomas Gerard (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XVII, pp. 92, 94). This Westwood House stood on the Manor of Westwood, which was surveyed for Thomas Gerard on May 17th, 1651 (Rent-Roll, Charles County Md., Calvert Papers No. 885½, p. 153). The manor of Westwood, which is marked down on Augustine Herman's map of Virginia and Maryland (1670), lies at the head of Wicomico River and on the northern side of the river a short distance below the mouth of Zachiah Swamp and west of Gilbert Swamp. Westwood House was doubtless adjacent to some dry landing on the river. Today there are few, if any, such landings on the manor land, since the head of the river has become silted up and has turned into marshes. In the year 1683 the Maryland Assembly provided for the establishment of a town and port on Wicomico River "between the mouth of Chaptico Bay and Westwood House" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. VII, p. 460).

Rent-rolls and patent records show that Dennis Husculow (Husculah) took up three tracts of land in what was at that time Saint Mary's County: "Saint Ann's," or "St. Ann," "Saint Vincent's" and "Husculow's Addition." The two first named were surveyed on April 15th and August 21st, 1672, respectively. The last named tract was laid out on August 1st, 1673 (Rent-roll Charles County, Md., Calvert Papers No. 885½, p. 154; Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Patents, Liber XVII, pp. 213, 247). "Saint Vincent's" is described as beginning "at a bounded Pockicory standing by a bounded tree of his (Husculow's) own land called St. Anne." "Husculow's Addition" begins "at a bounded white oak standing on the east side of Zachiah Swamp near the Land of Captain Boarman called Georges Rest." The land runs thence north east by north fifty perches "to a bounded ash a bounded Tree of M^{r} James Bowlings, thence north north east eighty perches to a bounded gumme

of his (Husculow's) own Land." By this reference to " his own land " it is scarcely doubtful that one of the two above mentioned tracts of land was meant, although no bounded gum tree is called for in the surveys of either one of them. Such discrepencies are very common in these old surveys, however. The next line of " Husculow's Addition " runs north west and by north " into the swamp " (Zachiah Swamp). " Saint Ann's " was resurveyed for Samuel Turner on June 22nd, 1721 (Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Patented Certificate No. 1118, Charles County). The resurvey included another original survey called " Bow " and was called " Turner's Forrest." The survey of " Husculow's Addition " calls for the land of Captain (William) Boarman called " George's Rest." The last named tract, otherwise known as " Saint George's Rest," was surveyed for William Boarman May 22nd, 1662, and was afterwards (1676) included in that very extensive tract called " Boarman's Manor " (Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Patents, Liber XIX, folio 271). " Boarman's Manor " extends for a number of miles on both sides of Zachiah Swamp. The manor includes the village of Bryantown and its upper limits are probably not far above that place. Its lower limits have not been ascertained by this author, but this fact is worthy of note: the beginning of the manor, as surveyed in 1676, was on the eastern side of Zachiah Swamp, at the northernmost bounded tree of the land called " Calvert's Hope." On February 19th, 1670, James Bowling took up the land called " Calvert's Hope," " on the east side of a main fresh branch (Zachiah) of Wicocomoco (River) about three miles from the river " (Rent-roll, Charles County, Md., Calvert Papers No. 885½, p. 154). A part of " Calvert's Hope " lies on the road between Centreville (now Dentsville) and Newport (Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Abstracts of Deeds, Charles County, Liber C. No. 4, folio 76). These land notes, while they made very tedious reading, are given in the hope that some one of my readers may know the location of " Georges Rest " or of any one of the three tracts of land taken up by Dennis Husculow.

It is my opinion that the lands of Dennis Husculow lay all together (they are small tracts) on the eastern side of Zachiah Swamp in the neighborhood of Dentsville, in a westerly or south westerly direction from that place between it and Zachiah Swamp. This opinion is based on Husculow's own statement as to the approximate distance between his house and Westwood House as well as on the above given data concerning his lands. The distance between his house and "the Indian Towne Zachijah" (presumably Zachiah Fort) he estimated at "within four miles." If the town and the fort were one and the same, as I believe they were, it is known that the fort was on the western side of Zachiah Swamp" (see above); and if the town (and fort) was farther down the swamp than Huscolow's residence, then it follows that it stood not far from the head of Wicomico River. That such was the case seems to me scarcely possible. It appears to me to be almost certain that the town (and fort) were situated up the swamp with respect to Husculow's house.[2] Granted that town and fort were at one and the same place, I hazard the opinion that the site of Zachiah Fort lay within the neck formed by Zachiah Swamp and a branch known today as Kerrick Swamp, which discharges into Zachiah Swamp about

[2] For one thing, Zachiah Fort stood in what was then (1681) a wilderness. Charles County at that time lay wholly west of Zachiah Swamp. Most of its white inhabitants lived along the Potomac and its estuaries and the tide of settlement moved inland year by year. The mouth and the lowest reaches of Zachiah Swamp undoubtedly then lay well inside of the frontier plantations. Now, I find that in a letter addressed to Lord Baltimore and bearing date June 20th, 1681, Colonel William Chandler reported that Captain Randolph Brandt had gone to Zachiah Fort to investigate the situation there as regards the Northern Indians and that he intended to "continue rangeing betweene the said ffort and the ffrontire Plantations of this county (Charles), which seems to be much approved of by the Inhabitants thereof" (*Maryland Archives*, Vol. XV, p. 375). On August 10th of the same year Captain Brandt wrote to Lord Baltimore on the subject of a visit recently paid by him to Zachiah Fort (*ibid.*, pp. 408, 409). He tells how, on leaving Zachiah, "Doubting of the Inhabitants of the ffrontire Plantations I repaired to them and am now ready to Defend to my utmost." His letter bears the address: "Charles County, from the ffrontire plantations in the woods." He excuses himself for his "bad writeing" on account of haste "and for wante of a place to write on."

three and a half miles south-east of La Plata. It is my belief that the site of the old fort can not be more than two and a half miles above the junction of the two swamps. Possibly it lay immediately above their junction, where it would have been protected by swamps on two sides. This was such a site as would have appealed strongly to the Indians. The old records tell us that Zachiah Fort was in Zachiah Swamp, but these need not be interpreted too literally. It is more likely that it stood on the borders of the swamp than in it. Certainly the Indian corn fields, which, as we shall shortly observe, came up " very near " to the fort itself, occupied dry ground.

Before leaving the question of the location of Zachiah Fort behind us, we should take notice of some other facts. In the latter part of August, 1681, Colonel Henry Coursey and Colonel William Stevens, who had been deputized to go to and to treat with the Northern Indians, then engaged in besieging Zachiah Fort, set out from Saint Mary's City and proceeded on their way until they came to the house of James Bowling, where they tarried, sending ahead Captain Randolph Brandt with a troop of horse and with Jacob Young, the interpreter, with instructions to proceed to within a mile of the fort, or closer, at their own discretion, and then to endeavor to get in touch with the Indian invaders, so as to inform them that Lord Baltimore's commissioners were " at an English plantation hard by " (i. e., at Bowling's) and to arrange a meeting for them. On the return of Captain Brandt and his men the commissioners set out with them for the fort. They departed from Bowling's about one o'clock of August 28th, but did not arrive at their destination until sun-down of the same day. As they had with them " the tall Sinniquo," who was " very lame," their mounts availed them not at all in the matter of speed, and numerous halts undoubtedly had to be made. The Seneca, whether by preference or necessity, accompanied them on foot. This will explain the seeming paradox, that Bowling's plantation was " hard by " the fort, but that it took mounted

men more than five hours to cover the distance between (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XVII, pp. 12-14).[3]

The erection of their new fort in a place supposedly less accessible to the enemy than their old fort had been, did little to relieve the apprehensions of the Piscattaways, although the expected attack held off for months. On February 19th, 1680/1, it was reported to Lord Baltimore that the Piscattaways "dare not venture out of their ffort to plant corne for their sustenance" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XV, p. 329). Corn was planted, however, for Captain Brandt, who made an expedition to the fort early in August of the same year, during the siege, espied Seneca Indians lurking in the corn field "very near the ffort" and communicated to his lordship that the enemy "have done great mischief in their corne fields which I viewed" (*ibid.,* pp. 408, 409). The Piscattaways told Brandt that the Senecas numbered six hundred, but the real number must have been far less. A letter of Colonel George Wells, of Baltimore County, addressed to Lord Baltimore and dated May 29th, 1681, contains the suggestion that a good opportunity will soon be offered

[3] Captain James Bowling's was the owner of extensive lands on the eastern side of Zachiah Swamp in what was formerly Saint Mary's County. We do not know on which of these lands he lived or exactly where these different lands were situated. "Calvert's Rest" (see above) was one of his tracts. "Bowling's Reserve," surveyed for him in 1668, adjoined Captain William Boarman's land called "George's Rest" (Patents, Liber XI, folio 522), which, as we have seen, adjoined "Husculow's Addition" and was later incorporated in "Boarman's Manor." "Bowling's Reserve" is bounded by "Bowling's Plains" (Patents, Liber XVI, f. 420), surveyed for James Bowling in 1671, by "Charley," surveyed for him in 1670 (*ibid.*, p. 31) and by "Chesam," which was laid out for him in 1673 (Patents, Liber XVII, f. 671). Other lands mentioned in the will of Captain James Bowling are "Miller's Choice" and "Keet's Rest" (Baldwin's *Calendar of Maryland Wills,* Vol. 2, p. 68). These two tracts adjoin each other, but their relation to the other tracts is not known. Nothing is known of the exact situation of James Bowling's lands, except with regard to "Calvert's Rest" (see above). "Bowling's Reserve," "Charley," "Chesam" and "Bowling's Plains" adjoin "Boarman's Manor" and lie not far from the east side of Zachiah Swamp, but their precise situation is unknown to this author. These land notes are here included merely for the sake of future reference and research.

to treat with the Northern Indians "at the Pascattoway ffort in Zachaiah Swamp, where they are intended within a very short time" (*ibid.*, p. 359). Colonel Wells adds that his information comes to him from certain Delaware Indians, who spoke with the Northern Indians "up Susquehanna way." On June 15th of the same year William Chandler wrote to Lord Baltimore, reporting the presence of Seneca Indians before Zachiah Fort. The Senecas, it appears, had already taken prisoners of the Piscattaways (*ibid.*, p. 359). These Senecas it would seem, had come to Maryland by water; for Captain Brandt, who had a parley with them and had found them sparring for a treaty with the beleaguered Piscattaways, wrote to Lord Baltimore on June 18th to report that they were in considerable numbers, and added that they had told him it was their intention, when they departed, "to go to Piscattaway, where they have left their canoes" (*ibid.*, p. 353). On June 20th, 1681, William Chandler wrote again to Lord Baltimore, this time to report that the Northern Indians had gone from Zachiah Fort, taking with them their Piscattaway prisoners to the number of twelve or thirteen: "their tract hath since been seen by one that was hunting for horses about the Pascattoway ffort since they went away and the tract leads towards the Creeke" (*ibid.*, pp. 374, 375).

Temporarily at least the Piscattaways were left in peace and Captain Randolph Brandt, writing to Lord Baltimore on June 30th, 1681, reports that he is lately returned from Zachiah, where he was unable to discover any "fforeigne Indians" (*ibid.*, p. 382). The next and the last serious attack which Zachiah fort had to sustain, was in the latter part of August of that year, although alarms had occurred there earlier in the same month (see above). On the twenty-second of that month two Northern Indians, an Oneida and an Onondaga, presented themselves to the Council with Jacob Young, the interpreter. They announced that they had a message from their people and presented a belt of peake and many dressed skins, according to Indian custom. Their message was to the effect that their troops were then on their way to attack Zachiah Fort and might

be expected to arrive on the twenty-fourth instant. About seventy "Maques" (Mohawks) were "lately downe" (already arrived?). The Indians then on the march would number about three hundred. They wanted to assure the English that they need have no fear of them, as they would not be molested. They desired a message from Lord Baltimore to take to their people "at their returne to their ffort which they intend to build by the Pascattoways" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XVII, pp. 3-5). They desired that the Piscattoways be divested of the forty guns which, they said, the English had lent them for hunting (*ibid.,* p. 4), but which would undoubtedly be made use of in the present emergency. The fort of the Northern Indians at Zachiah was apparently erected in two or three days. Lord Baltimore's commissioners, Coursey and Stevens, arrived at Zachiah Fort on August 27th at nightfall, when they proceeded to get in touch with the invaders and to make an appointment for the next day. The Indians failed to keep this appointment and sent word that "they Desired us to come to their ffort to treate." This request or demand was unfavorably received by the commissioners, who "deemed it inconvenient to goe because of the Piscattoway Prisoners in their ffort." Finally the Indians acceded to the wishes of Courcey and Stevens and came to them. Their troops were found to consist of "Manquos" (Mohawks), Oneidas, Onondagas and "Quiongoes" (Cayugas), all of whom were represented at the parley by their "great men." The two commissioners and the Indian "great men" came to no satisfactory agreement. The Indians were implacable in their attitude against the Piscattaways, alleging that their wrath had been whetted already by the loss of one of their number in the siege. On being pressed, they excused themselves from giving a definite answer, until the "Manquos Troop" (Mohawks), who were expected to arrive that night, had been consulted, but held out the promise of an answer by noon of the day following. The commissioners then retired to "Capt^{n} Bartons" (William Barton) for the night, leaving behind them Captain Brandt, who the next day reported that

" there were a great many Gunns shott in the night." When nothing was to be seen of the Northern Indians in the morning Jacob Young, the interpreter, with some of the troops, was dispatched to their fort to inquire the reason. He returned with the news that they " had broke up their seige and gone and left behind notice." This last was doubtless some sign which the Indian interpreter well understood. Seventeen Indian prisoners were carried away and the fort of the Northern Indians was found to be empty (*ibid.*, pp. 13-15). On their return to their distant homes in the north, the fleeing Indians committed many depredations on frontier plantations through or near which their path led them, until, in what is now the western part of Baltimore City, their road turned away from the white man's settlements and was engulfed in the wilderness. Day and night was made hideous by Indians " hollowing round " the more remote habitations. On September 1st, two days after the siege at Zachiah came to an end, the house of John Marriott, " on the ridge at the head of Anne Arundell River " (Severn) was attacked by a party of about one hundred Indians, who robbed him and his wife, beat them and turned them out of doors. On September 10th a party of Indians estimated to number one hundred and fifty, pillaged the house and plantation of Edward Brock. The same day " a great party " of Indians forced open and robbed the house of William Jones (*Maryland Archives*, Vol. XVII, pp. 19, 20, 29, 30). The Piscattaways entertained little hope that the Northern Indians were gone for good and on September 26th it was rumored that they " daily expected them " to return (*ibid.*, p. 27). This menace, however, did not again materialize, and after the signing of the Treaty of Albany (August, 1682) it seems to have been warded off more or less permanently. A separate treaty with the Senecas was made by Colonel Henry Coursey and others, acting on the part of the Province of Maryland, April 16th, 1685, at the house of Colonel George Wells in Baltimore County (now Harford), according to the terms of which the Senecas were never again to molest their old enemies, whom they called " Gonoois " or " Conoois "

(*ibid.*, p. 365). The scene of this historic meeting was a place called Gouldsmith's Hall, which is situated on the bay side in Harford County, immediately above the point called Old Woman's Point, and which is now within the limits of the Aberdeen Proving Ground. The apprehensions of the Piscattaways were, however, slow to subside. On August 24th, 1682, Colonel William Chandler wrote to Lord Baltimore to the effect that the Mattowomans were being harassed by the Senecas and that the former threatened to abandon their fort and to retire to Zachiah Fort; furthermore, that the "Young Emperor" had sixty or seventy deer skins which he desired to present to his lordship, but feared to leave his fort (Zachiah), lest some harm befall the women and children there, and requested that "some few English" be sent to guard it; to which Lord Baltimore replied that he might tell the King of Mattawoman that he and his Indians had leave to settle at Zachiah and that he would order a standing guard of twenty men to be stationed there at the fort (*ibid.*, pp. 112, 113). In the spring of 1689 Zachiah Fort was still occupied by the Piscattaways and was still the place of residence of the emperor (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. VIII, p. 91). In a record of December, 1690, there is mention of the Indian town of "Zakiah" and of the "Zakiah Indians" (*ibid.*, p. 206). "Zacajah" corn fields are mentioned in a record of 1692 (*ibid.*, p. 349). At what date the town and fort of Zachiah were abandoned by the Piscattaways I have not been able to determine.

As regards the Piscattaway fort on Rock Creek we know only, that in the year 1700 the Piscattaways, then residing on Conoy Island in Potomac River, were instructed to demolish it (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXV, p. 83). On June 8th, 1697, the Piscattaways gave a promise to commissioners sent to them from Maryland at their fort in Virginia, that they would return to Maryland the following spring and settle "either at their old ffort nigh Piscattoway or about Rock Creek" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXIII, pp. 143-146). In October of the same year it was proposed by the Council to send them a message,

that they might "*resettle*" Piscattaway or Rock Creek, "which they think fit" (*ibid.*, p. 244). It is just possible that this fort on Rock Creek lay near that Indian field, which is mentioned in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Girles Portion," which was taken up by Colonel Henry Darnall in September 20th, 1687 (Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Patents, Liber XXII, p. 319). The Indian field lay on a "small run," a tributary of a branch of Rock Creek. This extensive tract of nearly two thousand acres is situated at the northern corner of the District of Columbia, between Rock Run and Sligo Branch, in the neighborhood of Sligo and Silver Spring, and above those towns. In the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Saint Wynoxberghe," which was surveyed for John Woodcocke in 1686 and assigned by him to James Brown April 1st, in the same year, and containing five hundred acres, described as situated "on the west side of the North branch of the Eastern Branch of Potomac above the head of a great savanah," there is mention of "a great Indian ffield that lyeth in the Forke of the aforesaid Branch" (Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Patents, Liber C. No. 3, folio 558). This land now lies in Montgomery County, between Norbeck and Norwood, and not far west of Sandy Springs.[4] It is barely possible that the Piscattaways had taken possession of the "new fort" of the Susquehannocks, which, as we have seen, that people erected somewhere in Maryland in the year 1676, and which is not to be confused with their fort near Piscattaway Creek, where the tragedy of the assassination of their chiefs took place the year before. There is, perhaps, a clue to the locality in which this "new fort" was situated, to be found in a record of the year 1697, which reads as follows: the Piscattaway Indians declare "that there are five Susquehannocks yet remaining of that nation formerly seated near the Eastern Branch of Potomac and are now among those Indians at the head of the Bay" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXIII, p. 294).

[4] For information as to the situation of these tracts I am indebted to Mrs. W. Hyde Talbott, of Rockville, Maryland.

The flight of the Piscattaway Indians from Maryland, which took place in the spring of year 1697, and the immediate cause of that very radical performance on the part of this people, are excellently told in Harrison's *Landmarks of Old Prince William* in a chapter entitled "The Migration of the Piscattaways," to which the reader is herewith referred (*Landmarks of Old Prince William,* Vol. 1, p. 93 et seq.). It was a case of alarm for their personal safety adding itself to a condition of chronic dissatisfaction and vexation. In the proceedings of the Council for August, 1696, we find a recommendation of the Governor "that some way be found out that may occasion the seating a certain Indian Tract of Land Scituated betwixt Pomunkey and Mattawoman extending at least twenty miles upon the River of Potomock & now within the Bounds and limits of Prince Georges County." His Excellency desired "some way be found out to Oblige the Indians to Suffer the seating thereof, w^{ch} will occasion a greater quantity of Tobacco to be made, as also advance and encourage the aforementioned new county." The Council was enjoined to give serious consideration to this matter "ag^{t} the Assembly" (before the next meeting of the Assembly) and Colonel John Addison was authorized "to speak to the said Indians" and to report later as to what he had accomplished (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XX, p. 282). In a record of November 3rd, 1725, there is an allusion to the Piscattaways "and other Indians of the Western Shore, who retired back into the Mountains upon some discontent about their Town Lands" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXXV, p. 270). Major William Barton who, acting under a commission from Governor Nicholson, visited the Piscattaways in their mountain fastness, reported to the Assembly that the Emperor gave it as his reason for their flight, that the English were determined to kill them all. The Emperor accused Colonel Addison of having said that he would take their fort (i. e., their fort in Maryland) with thirty men, while Colonel Hollyday, he declared, had said he would take it with forty (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XIX, p. 520). He added that "several people bought their lands over

their heads so that they had noe certainty thereof without their leave." Later the same year (July 15th, 1697) the Emperor was alleged to have said, that he was indifferent as to whether he joined with the Senecas in a war, or took the part of Maryland, since the one side drove him from his home and the other robbed him of his corn and goods (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXIII, p. 175).

The new home and fort of the Piscattaway people is decribed as " beyond the ffirst mountain," or as " betwixt the two first mountaines above the head of occoquam river lying neare sixty or seaventy miles beyond the Inhabitants " (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XIX, p. 520; Vol. XXIII, p. 146). The journal of commissioners appointed by Nicholson to seek out and treat with the Piscattaways " at the mountains or elsewhere " is dated June 8th, 1697. The commissioners on their way in Virginia discovered a settlement of refugee Maryland Indians, who were partly Pamunkeys and partly Piscattaways. The King of Mattawoman they found there (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXIII, p. 143-146). Further on they crossed the first mountain and came upon the fort in the plain or valley " between two mountains." They found corn planted on the west side of the fort. They entered into negotiations with the emperor and his chiefs and were met by promises of returning to Maryland the following spring. Various plausible reasons for delay were given. The Indians failed to keep this promise, however, and doubtless never intended to keep it. The emperor was no doubt well aware that his return was not desired for his own good, but in order that the Marylanders might hold him and his people under strict surveillance and allow them few if any liberties. This man, as we have already observed, is credited with intelligence and with a good command of the English language. He was certainly " nobody's fool." He knew very well that extreme poverty confronted his people if they went back to Maryland. The letting in of a flood of English settlers upon their ancient " town lands " had been under serious consideration, and if it was not already under way, it would certainly be taken

up again. The efforts of the Maryland government to get the Indians to come back were in some respects a measure of the advantage which the Indians had acquired in going away. On October 16th, 1697, it was resolved by the Council, that the Governor of Virginia be requested to send commissioners to the Piscattaways at their fort in the mountains of that province, to ascertain how many of them there might be and "whether they had dispersed themselves about a hunting, according to their usuall custom," and to see "whether they have any strange Indians among them" (*ibid.*, p. 243). Several Senecas had already been reported to be living in the neighborhood of the fort (*ibid.*, p. 185). The Council was apprehensive lest "the said Indians living so remote from the Inhabitants may have ffrench Jesuits or Priests or other French men among them."

The Piscattaways appear to have remained at their fort in the mountains for the space of about two years or slightly less, before repairing to Conoy Island. No definite clue as to the location of this fort has come to hand, but it was certainly somewhere in what is now Fauquier County, Virginia. The Occoquan River rises in the Bull Run Mountains in that county. Its head stream is the famous Bull Run. The valley which lies between these mountains and the Blue Ridge, is that of Goose Creek. The fort probably stood somewhere in this valley.

Giles Vandicastille and Burr Harrison, who were deputized by the Governor of Virginia to go as ambassadors to the Piscattaway emperor and his Indians at Conoy Island in the year 1699, reported that they found the Indians' fort on the island not quite finished. It was fifty or sixty yards square and had eighteen cabins in it. There were nine cabins outside. The fort stood at the upper end of the island, which was described as about a mile long "or something better," and about a quarter of a mile wide in the broadest place. The Potomac was not fordable from the Virginia shore to the island, except in very dry seasons. The nearest Virginia (white) inhabitants were distant about seventy miles. The emperor informed the commissioners, that he had made peace with all other Indians, sav-

ing only the "ffrench Indians." The commissioners found no "strange Indians" at the fort, but the emperor told them that "the Genekers (Senecas?) Lives with them when at home" (*Virginia State Papers,* 1652-1781, p. 63). Giles Tillett and David Straughan, who visited Conoy Island the same year, reported that the Piscattaways living there had no canoes! They found Seneca Indians among them (*ibid.,* p. 67). In the early winter of the year 1704 Colonel Smallwood of Maryland made the journey to the island, having with him an Indian interpreter (was the English-speaking Indian emperor then dead?) and sixteen soldiers. On arriving at the island, he was disappointed to learn that the "chiefe of the greate menn" were absent from home, "being gone out a Bear-hunting." We have already noted how Smallwood reported a "great mortality" among the inhabitants of the island, which was supposed to be due to an epidemic of small-pox. The Indians had abandoned the fort on this account and their summer crop of corn was still standing in the field (it was then December) (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXVI, p. 376). Conoy Island had a distinguished visitor in the year 1712 in the person of the Baron de Graffenried (Publications of the North Carolina Historical Society: *Baron Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern,* pp. 247, 383, 391). De Graffenried informs us that the Indian village on the island was called Canavest. His journey to Canavest seems to have been made over that old Indian road which, starting on the Potomac at the site of Georgetown, lead inland over the hills and so down to the mouth of the Monocacy, skirting the southern end of Sugar Loaf Mountain. The reader will find this route sketched out in de Graffenried's map of his journey, which is reproduced in the first volume *Landmarks of Old Prince William.* The writer on the subject of the Piscattaways (Conoys) in the *Handbook of American Indians* tells us, that soon after de Graffenried's visit to Canavest, they forsook that place to settle, by invitation of the Iroquois, at Conejohola on the west bank of the Susquehanna River, in what is now York County, Pennsylvania. Their subsequent history,

so far as known, is then briefly sketched (*Handbook of American Indians,* Vol. I, p. 339). It is rather a pity that we do not know the date on which their island in the Potomac was left behind them. This island was surveyed for Arthur Nelson, an ancestor of General Roger Nelson of Revolutionary fame, on February 18th, 1724 (Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Patents, Liber 1. L. No. B., folio 132). The survey was given the name of "Nelson's Island," a name which did not adhere to the island. The survey begins "at a bounded ash, standing on the north side of Coyney Island in Potomack River above Monocacy." Some other islands, which lie adjacent to Conoy Island in Potomac River, were taken up by Arthur Nelson, November 10th, 1728, under the name of "Broken Islands" (Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Patents, Liber A. M. No. I, folio 47). "Broken Islands" begins "at a bounded elm tree standing on an island in Potomack River a little above the Indian Town Landing." There is little doubt that this landing was the one belonging to Canavest, the town on Conoy Island. Conoy Island is mentioned in a resurvey which was made for John Trammell Feb. 7, 1764, and called "Trammels Conoy Islands" (Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 19, folio 553). It is evident that Conoy Island at that time still went by that name which was the Iroquoian name of the Piscattaway people, the name by which they became generally known in the eighteenth century. The island is now called Heater's Island, but at what time it acquired this name I have not been able to learn.

When the Piscattaway Indians passed out of Maryland history the governing class in Maryland (few of this class ever suffered personal injury at the Indians' hands) was relieved of a responsibility and a burden and the common people of the presence of a race utterly alien to them, which they had always regarded as an intolerable nuisance, a danger and a hamper to their ordinary activities and pursuit of wealth. But it must not be forgotten that they were here long before us and that, had it not been for us, their descendants, mixed, perhaps, with

other Indian peoples, would, in all probability, still be living on the Potomac in the neighborhood of Piscattaway. The Susquehannocks, or the Five Nations, or the Powhatan peoples would doubtless have conquered them long since and, after great slaughter, have incorporated them with themselves. In three hundred years they might have made some little advances in the arts and in government, but they would still be "savages" to us. No one questions the fact that it is all for the best that we replaced them; but to give away their lands, their liberties and lives in a royal charter in which no other than the absurd right of "discovery" is invoked seems scarcely fair any longer from a modern point of view. The least that the Maryland historian or antiquarian and their readers can do to repair this wrong is to take some small interest in the Piscattaway people, not in order to idealize them, but in order to discover that which in them was peculiar and worthy of note, to handle their relics respectfully and to see that these last are relegated to places of safe-keeping, and so in a certain sense to keep their memory green.

APPENDIX.

(Land Notes)

Upper Marlboro, Maryland, County Court Proceedings, Prince George's County, Old Book of Land Commissions, 1717-1720, p. 35 et seq.: land commission held on behalf of Thomas Edelen and George Noble to perpetuate the bounds of a tract of land, containing three thousand acres, originally surveyed for William Calvert, Esq., and known as "Piscattaway Manor" or as "Calvert Manor." The commissioners met at the house of William Marshall on April 1st, 1719, and heard the deposition of Mr. Francis Marbury, who being sworn, etc., "saith . . . concerning the bounded Hiccory of Randall Hanson's land standing near the mouth of a small Branch and on the north side of the said Branch there being a small Island near the mouth of the said Branch That about a year or two after his coming up he heard Mr. Henson would sell his land at Acokeke, and Mr. Hutchinson having told him once that if he would buy it he would be his Partner, This Deponent went to Mr. Henson who was willing to sell the land and shewed him his Pattent and this Deponent taking the lines told him he had been at a Bound tree which he was told was his, and told him where it was, Mr. Henson told this Deponent that was the lowermost tree of the tract he took up last there, the first tree being a Hiccory above the creeke which might be found after running up the River the

first line, and running the second line up the hills would go through the Indian cornfield, and accordingly as Mr. Henson told this Deponent, Mr. Hutchinson, Moses Jones and he went and found the tree agree with his information, and Mr. Hatton and Daniel Connell told him it was the tree for Mr. Hatton had been at a resurvey of the land three years after the taking of it up, and to the best of his remembrance it was there, and Daniel Connell told this Deponent to the best of his remembrance Mr. Henson had shewed it to him, and further this Deponent upon his oath saith that about twenty six years agoe or thereabouts Morris Lloyd and he bought two hundred acres of land lying at the head of Piscattaway Creeke and after he had built a house was threatened and told he was settled upon the Land that James Neale had sold to Mr. Blizzard which making him uneasy they endeavored to find out some persons that knew their bounds and one James Lewis being in Company with Morris Lloyd told said Lloyd he was with Esq. Calvert and Stone when they took up their land at Piscattaway Creek, and that Esq^{r}. Calvert begun his tract upon Mr. Henson, and he markt another tree in a Branch upon the Creeke, and he understood Mr. Neale had taken up a great deale of land after, and that they did not come to the head of the Creeke with Calvert and Stones land. This is what the said Lloyd told this Deponent to the best of his remembrance, upon which the said Lloyd sold his part of the land to Moses Jones and the said Jones being in doubt enquired among the old standers to find any person that knew the bound trees of the other tract of land, and the said Jones told this Deponent that one Richard Jones living in Mattawoman was an old stander and being one time at Piscattaway Creeke with Mr. Allison the said Allison shewed the said Jones his bound treee, and that it stood in a branch upon Piscattaway Creek side near a parcell of Pine trees in an Indian field, and that it was the end of Calvert and his beginning. This Allison was the man that bought the tract of land that was taken up by Stone, and that Moses Jones told this Deponent that this was what Richard Jones told him, and further this Deponent saith That Mr. Henson told him when he went to buy the land, that Calverts land joined to his and did take in the Indian fort on the top of a high hill near Piscattaway Creeke and that he the said Henson was with Lord Baltimore at the chusing of an Indian Emperour at that fort that was in Calvert's land, whereupon Moses Jones and this Deponent agreed with Mr. Hutchinson to give him a Hoggshead of Tobaccoe for running out all the older tracts of land, which joined one to another and to gett the certificates and if there was any free land 'twas to be in Partnership, so running Calvert's south south east and south east lines they found a small peice of land, and this Deponent bought Hutchinson's and Jones right to it, and running the courses they found the north east line would goe to Piscattaway main runn instead of the Creeke, This Deponent could see no free land within those lines but Major Boreman coming up told Mr. Hutchinson, as the said Hutchinson informed this Deponent that the land which Neale had sold Blizzard did begin at the

fort landing, upon which Hutchinson and Jones took up what land was above the licking Branch and asked this deponent to goe part with him according to agreement This Deponent answered them he could see nothing safe by laying a common warrant in those lines of Calvert But having three hundred acres of land which he had bought and some of it running over Piscattaway Branch into the land of John Hawkins and taking part of his improvements he sold him all his right and title as it cost him to his leese and so gott clear of his Bargain and further this Deponent saith he went to John Stone to gett the lines of the land that was laid out for Stone which he said he Had not But told this Deponent that Stone who took up the Land when he came from the survey of it, said that his land lay on the side on the side (sic) of Piscattaway Creeke, and that it was a fine gravelly creeke where it lay, and at the same time James Neale being Company told this Deponent that he was with his Father when he took uo his land sold to Blizzard and his Father begun at the upper fort landing But he staying in his Boat did not see how farr they went up the Creek But they told him that they took it up to the Head of the Creeke and further this Deponent saith that the High hill wch he shewed the Comissrs near Piscattaway Creek is the hill topp on which the old Indian fort stood where Mr Henson told this Deponent he was with the Lord Baltimore at the chusing of an Indian emperour; which Indian fort said Henson told this Deponent was in Calvert's land, and this Deponent at the place aforesaid told the Comissrs that the trenches belonging to the said fort were very fresh and visible in his time and memory, and this Deponent carrying the Comissrs a little further shewed them an Ashen Branch or Swamp upon Piscattaway Creek side very near a parcell of Pine trees standing in a piece of Ground which had been an Indian field, which in this Deponents time and memory had been full of sedge grass and clear of Brushes and trees in which ashen swamp or Branch aforesaid this Deponent believes the bounded ash the last tree of Calvert's land to have stood altho he never could find it and further this Deponent saith not" (copied by William B. Marye at Upper Marlboro, Md., June, 1935).

Ibid., p. 43 (proceedings of same land commission): "Prince Geos Coty April 3d 1719: Then mett at the house of William Marshall Messrs. Patrick Hepburn, Joseph Belt and Ralph Crabb and proceeded to survey and settle the bounds of Piscattaway Mannor in the Manner following. Beginning at a bounded Hiccory proved before the said Comissrs to be the first tree of Henson's land now in the possion (possession) of John Fendall, run two hundred and fifty perches east north east to find and settle the beginning of the said Piscattaway Mannor, and there bounded an ash and putt downe a Locust post in an ashen swamp adjoining to a marsh for the beginning of the said Piscattaway Mannor and from thence running south south east five hundred perches into a plantation now in the possion of Francis Marbury and there putt down a Locust post and planted and bounded a young Locust tree and from thence running south eighty Degrees and one thousand and Twenty perches (within which line the

said Comissrs gave possession to Thomas Edelen, George Noble and others Complts of Two plantations claimed by Luke Gardiner But now rented and possed by John Athey and the widow Cecill and another Plantation claimed and settled by the said Luke Gardiner having two slaves at work upon it) which ended in the main road that leads from Piscattoway to Portobaccoe, where we caused to be bounded three spanish oaks two of them on the west side of the said road and the other on the east side thereof, Then north twenty three degrees west to Piscattaway Creeke, which line intersects the said Creeke in an ashen Pocoson in the mouth of a branch called the Piney Branch otherwise Pocketts Branch and the Pocoson and mouth of the said Branch being so mirey and impassible that there was no getting to the Creek side to bound a tree wee caused to be bounded a small ash and a large white oak on dry ground at the place where the aforesaid line cutt the said mirey ashen Pocoson and from thence running with Piscattoway Creeke and Potomack River to the first bounded ash and Locust Post of the aforesaid Mannor."

Ibid., between pages 48 and 49: plat of Calvert's or Piscattaway Manor, as laid down under the directions of commissioners, 1719, and as above described.

Ibid., p. 78: land commission on "Stone's Delight," January 7th, 1719. The commissioners instruct the surveyor (Stoddert) to begin for "Stone's Delight" at the last bounded tree of "The Mannor," i. e., Calvert's or Piscattaway Manor. Plat showing "Stone's Delight," "Saint Anthony's," "Saint James's" and "Saint Dorothy's" (between pages 85 and 86): March 4, 1719: James Stoddert, deputy surveyor of Prince George's County. "These are to certifie that by the orders of the Major part of the commissioners for acertaining the bounds of land, I have surveyed for Mr. Notley Rozer all that tract of land called Stones Delight, Beginning att the side of Piscataway Creek at the mouth of an ashen swamp and att the end of the north twenty three degrees west line of Calvert Mannor," etc., etc. (pp. 85, 86).

Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Warrants, Liber X, 1661-1663, folio 271: August 31, 1662: Layd out for Willm Calvert of this Province Esqr a tract of Land on the east side of pascattaway river & the south side of a Creeke in the said River called pascattaway creeke beginning att a marked oake the bound tree of Randall Hanson and running south south east up the hills for the Length of five hundred perches to a marked oake bounding on the south wth a Line drawne south east from the said Oake for the Length of one thousand & twenty perches to a marked oake on the east with a line drawne north east from the end of the former Line to a marked Ash standing in an ashing swampe by the Creeke side near an Indian ffeild on the north with the said Creeke on the west with the River and the Land of Randall Hanson aforesaid containing and now Layd out for three Thousand acres more or Less (Note: This land, although not named in the certificate of survey, is the land later known as Piscattaway or Calvert's

Manor. In these old land certificates the Potomac is frequently referred to as "Piscattaway River").

R. T. Semmes Papers, Maryland Historical Society: abstract of deed taken from Deed Book R. No. 1, Charles County, folio 134: This indenture, dated January 14th, 1689, from Charles Calvert of Saint Mary's County, gent., son and heir of William Calvert, Esq., deceased, to Charles Edgerton, of Saint Mary's County, merchant, three thousand acres patented to the said William Calvert Feb. 11th, 1662, on the east side of Piscattaway River (Potomac) and on the south side of Piscattaway Creek, "beginning at a marked oak ye bounded tree of Randolph Hanson," etc., less six hundred acres given by said William Calvert to his daughter Elizabeth upon her marriage with James Neale. "which three thousand acres is situated in Charles County *and is part of ye land that was reserved for ye Indians in ye year 1668 or thereabouts.*"

R. T. Semmes Papers: abstract of deed recorded in Deed Book K. No. 1, 1682-1684, Charles County, at page 421 et seq.: this indenture, dated March 11th, 1683, from James Neale, Junior, of Charles County, Md., gent., and Elizabeth his wife, to Giles Blizard of London, England, all that tract of land called "St. James," situated on the south side of Piscataway Creek and containing seven hundred acres, which was formerly surveyed for Captain James Neale and by deed of gift, dated December 24th, 1681, was conveyed by the said Neale to the aforesaid James Neale, Jr. (Note: this was the land referred to in Francis Marbury's deposition as the land sold by Neale to Blizard).

Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland, Chancery Proceedings, Liber P. C., 1671-1712, folio 870 et seq.: proceedings of a land commission granted on July 18th, 1712, to John, Thomas, Randolph and James Edgerton, to determine the bounds of Piscattaway Manor. "March ye last, 1713: Being at a bounded Hiccory standing on a point on Potomack River side over against a small Island in the mouth of a small Creek formerly called Akakeeth creek now knowne by the name of Joos Creek came Mr Francis Malbury (Marbury) aged fifty years or thereabouts and made oath on the holy Evangelist that about seventeen or eighteen years agoe he went downe to Mr Randolph Hynson in order to buy or purchase his Land in Akakeek and telling him that he had found a bounded oake which the said deponent supposed to be his last bounder upon the River Side his answer was noe that that was his Lower bounder of his lower Tract and that the Beginning of his upper Tract was a hickory which according to his Discription of the place this Depont came and found," etc., etc.

Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland, Patents, Liber V, folio 168: August 13th, 1662: Laid out for Randle Hanson of this province planter a parcell of Land on the east side of pascattoway River in Charles County near unto an old Indian Town called Aquakeeke beginning at a marked pokehikary standing by the water side, and running east north east up the River for breadth the Length of Two hundred and fifty perches to a marked oak

standing by the River side, a bounding on the east with a Line drawn south south east from the said oak for the length of Three hundred and twenty perches, to a marked poplar standing in an old Indian feild, on the south with a Line drawn west south west from the end of the former Line for the length of Two hundred and fifty perches, to a bounded oak that Intersects a parallel Line drawn from the first marked pokikickary on the west with the said parallel on the north with the sd river containing and now laid out for five hundred acres more or less.

Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland, Patents, Liber V, folio 434: "Charley," surveyed May 4th, 1663: Laid out for Randall Hanson of this province a parcell of Land lying on the east side of pascattoway River in Charles County (called Charley) Beginning at a marked pokehickary standing by the River side, being the bound tree of his own Land formerly laid out called Hansonton, bounding on the east with the sd Land for the length of Three hundred and twenty perches to a marked oak standing in the woods, on the south with a Line drawn west south west from the said oak for the length of one hundred and eighty perches to a marked red oak, on the west with a Line drawn north north west from the end of the former Line to a bounded oak standing by the water side on the north with the sd River, containing and now laid out for Three hundred and sixty acres more or less.

Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland, Wills, Liber VI, folio 236: the will of Randolph Hynson, dated September 28th, 1698; probated April 16th, 1699. The testator authorizes his wife, Barbara Hynson, to confirm to John Fendall and to Joshua Marshall the sale of two tracts of land "Lying in Acco. (Accokeek) Creeke in prince Georges County," containing eight hundred and sixty acres. The testator describes himself as of Charles County. He bequeaths to his said wife, Barbara Hynson, "all that plantation and Tract of Land thereunto belonging called St. Johns where I now dwell" for the term of her life and after her decease to go to "my daughter Thompson" and to her son, Thomas Thompson.

The last named tract of land, "St. Johns," he purchased of William Langworth, the patentee, on February 20th, 1679 (R. T. Semmes Papers, Maryland Historical Society. Mr. Semmes gives as his reference: Charles County Deed Book H. No. 1, 1679-1680, folio 299). It is quite evident that he did not own this land at the time when his house was stormed by the Susquehannocks (1675). The Susquehannock fort, it will be remembered, stood within three miles of that house, where the fight lasted for a whole day and several of the Susquehannocks and several of the English defenders were killed. Now, the rendez-vous of the Maryland troops, some two hundred and fifty strong, who were ordered to proceed to the attack on the Susquehannock fort, was first at the head of Chaptico Bay, whence their officers were instructed to lead them to the north side of the mouth of Piscattaway Creek and there to await the arrival of the Virginia forces from across the river, with which they were expected to cooperate in the attack on the fort (*Maryland Archives*, Vol. XV, p. 49). It seems to

me hardly subject to much, if any reasonable doubt, that Randall Hanson was then living upon his lands which lay along Potomac River within a mile and a half of the southern side of the mouth of Piscattaway Creek. If the Susquehannock fort lay to the northward of the creek, as it seems to be implied in the record above referred to, and if the distance between it and Hanson's house was correctly given (it must have been the distance by water), then it is clear that the fort, the scene of the deplorable execution of the Susquehannock chiefs, stood somewhere in the neighborhood of the site of Fort Washington.

Virginia Land Office, Richmond, Va., Patents, Liber VI, folio 614: March 1st, 1674, granted to Col. Nicholas Spencer and Lt. Col. John Washington, five thousand acres, situated in Stafford County in the ffreshes of Pottomooke River and neere opposite to Piscattaway Indian Towne in Mariland and near the land of Capt. Giles Brent on the north side and near the land of Mr. William Green & Mr. William Dudley & others on the south side being a necke of Land bounded betwixt two Creeks and the Maine River on the east . . . by the said Main River of Pottomooke, on the no:pte by a creeke called by the English Little Hunting Creeke and the maine branch thereof on the so. pte by a Creek named and called by the Indians Epsewassen Creeke and the main branch thereof which creek divides the land and the land of Greene Dudley and others (Note: this was the famous Mount Vernon tract. See *The Washingtons of Virginia*, by Edward Lee and Lulu Johnson McClain [1932], Vol. I, p. 162). Note the fact that the land of Captain Giles Brent lay to the north of and near to this tract, the northern boundary of which was Little Hunting Creek (still so called). Since the Spencer-Washington grant of 1674 (later Mount Vernon) lay nearly opposite to the Piscattaway town and the Brent grant (1653) opposite to it, the town must have been situated not far from Bryant Point and on Potomac River.

Maryland Archives, Vol. V, p. 165: Meeting of the Council held December 15th, 1668. Consideration given to the confirming to the Indians of certain lands which were allotted to them in the treaty made with them in April, 1666. Ordered therefore all persons be forbidden to seat on or to take up any land between the head of Mattawoman Creek and the head of Pascattaway Creek until part of the same be allotted to the said Indians, if they find it to their liking, in which case the Indians are to remove there with their wives and families. List of Indian peoples affected by this resolution (see below).

Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland, Patents, Liber XII, folio 339: to the honble the Lieu^{t} Gen^{ll} and Councill August the XXV Mdclxix By virtue of an order of the Honble Govern^{r} and Councell I Jerome White Surveyo^{r} Gen^{ll} of the province of Maryland have laid out for the Pascattoway Annacostancke Doags, Mikikiwoman, Manusquesend Mattawoman Chingwawateg Nanjemaick Portobacco Lanays ("Sacayo" in the above quoted record of 1668) Pangayo and the Choptico Indians all that tract of land lying between Paskatoway Creek and Mattawoman creek beginning at

Mattawoman Creek at a marked white oak standing near a path that leadeth over the said creek from Pascattoway unto Zaccaya and running from the said oak north untill it meeteth with the main fresh falling into pascattoway creek bounded on the north by the said Creek fresh and creek unto potomack River bounded on the west with the said Potomack River from the said pascattaway Creek unto the above said Mattawoman Creek bounded on the south by the said Mattawoman Creek unto the above mentioned white oak and bounded on the east by the above said north line.

Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland, Patents, Liber N. S. No. 2, folio 691: laid out for Ignatius Wheeler a tract of land called Aix, situated in Charles County, "beginning at a bounded spanish oak standing on the south side of Mattawoman Run on the east side of the path that goeth from Zachian ffort to Piscattaway near the bounded tree of the Indian Reserve, thence bounding on the Reserve north by west two hundred and fifty perches to a bounded hickory, thence east north east forty perches to a spanish oak by an Indian field," etc., etc. Surveyed January 4th, 1687. Patented to William Hutchinson.

Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland, Patents, Liber XXII, folio 433: "Porke Hall," surveyed March 15th, 1688, for James Smallwood, "on the north side of the Piney Branch that falls into Mattawoman fresh run by a Sakya path that leads to Piscattaway" (this path is twice called for).

ADMIRAL VERNON, HIS MARYLANDERS AND HIS MEDALS.*

By Leander McCormick-Goodhart.

Edward Vernon was born in Westminster, London, on the 12th of November, 1684. This date, you will remember, was 12 years after the end of England's last great struggle with the Dutch. It was a few years before the Restoration, and it was at the very moment when William Penn and Charles, third Lord Calvert, had reached an impasse in their discussions over the Pennsylvania-Maryland line. Vernon was born, therefore, approximately 50 years after the foundation of Maryland. Ed-

* Address delivered before the Maryland Historical Society April 8, 1935.

ward was the second son of James Vernon, who was Secretary of State under William the Third. The Vernons were of an old family of Cheshire. Edward had one brother and two sisters. The brother was later British Envoy at Copenhagen. Edward entered the Navy very young, as was the custom in those days and still is in the British Navy, at the age of fifteen and a half, on the 10th of May, 1700, and served in it continuously for some 28 years before the events which concern us this evening. His first position was that of volunteer on board the flagship of that great admiral, Sir George Rooke. Vernon's career was varied and full of stirring incident. At one time he was with another famous admiral, Sir Clowdisley Shovell, and was present at the Battle of Malaga. He was also present at the capture of Barcelona in 1705. At the end of 1707 he was for the first time to survey the scenes which were to bring him fame in later years, for in April, 1708, he set sail from England as Captain of H. M. S. *Jersey,* of 50 guns, for the West Indies, there to be in command for the ensuing four years. His only militant action during this period was to assist in the breaking up of a Spanish squadron off Cartagena, in July, 1710. Little did he think, perhaps, that he was destined to be remembered in history by his later attack on that same stronghold. From 1715 for about five years he was engaged in service in the Baltic. In 1729 a Treaty was signed at Seville, putting an end to a disastrous war between England, France and Spain, and from this time on for a decade Vernon gave himself up largely to political activities.

The operations which I shall describe are familiarly known as the War of Jenkins' Ear. This particular incident, though it had happened eight years before, was one of many which led to the beginning of warlike manoeuvres in 1739. You will probably recall the incident. Robert Jenkins was sailing a small brig from Jamaica to the English Channel when, on the 9th of April, 1731, he was boarded and plundered by a Spanish coast-guard vessel. But he also suffered the extreme insult of

having one of his ears cut off. On his arrival in London Jenkins was permitted to tell his story to the King.

But nothing more happened until 1738, when Jenkins was examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, and doubtless his story by that time had been considerably embroidered. It served, however, enormously to inflame the imagination of the public.

At its roots the Treaty of Seville had been unsatisfactory. Its commercial clauses led to a great deal of smuggling on the one hand, and to violent repression on the other. Moreover, England needed foreign trade and the ports of all the vast territory of Spanish America were closed to her ships by Spanish Government decree. England became, to use an urbane expression, more and more "fed up" with the Spaniards. The angry feeling against the Spaniards gave the enemies of Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister of the day, a definite point of attack on the Government. In the course of these debates our hero distinguished himself by his vehement invective. Vernon was all for "having a go" at England's traditional enemies since the Armada. He emphasized in the House of Commons the weakness of the Spanish settlements on what are now the coasts of Venezuela, Columbia, and Panama. The Spanish coast-guard vessels fitted out at Porto Bello, only three or four miles to the North-East of the present entrance to the Panama Canal. Why should not Porto Bello therefore be destroyed? All that was needed was determination on the part of the Government, and in a famous passage Vernon exclaimed in the House: "Let me do it. I will go to Porto Bello with only six ships and capture it." Walpole was not slow to see brilliant possibilities of action against one of his bitter enemies. Why not send Vernon to Porto Bello and thus get rid of him in the House of Commons? Let's meet his bluff!

On the 9th of July, 1739, Vernon was promoted to the rank of Vice Admiral and was appointed to command an expedition to the West Indies against the "dogs of Spain." It should, however, be stated that although Vernon's appointment was due probably to political inspiration, nevertheless he was considered

the best man available for the task and in fact received the recommendations of two distinguished admirals, one the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the other the Admiral of the Fleet.

War was not declared against Spain until October, 1739. But on the 19th of July Vernon had received his instructions which read as follows: "to destroy the Spanish settlements in the West Indies and to distress their shipping by every method whatever." Vernon sailed only four days later, with nine ships, eight being of the line. He parted with four of these on the way, but on arrival in Jamaica was joined by one more. He therefore had under his command exactly the six ships which he had told the House of Commons he needed. On the night of November 20, that is, one month almost to the day after the declaration of war, Vernon and his little squadron arrived off Porto Bello. I may say, incidentally, that Porto Bello still exists as a decayed little village. The next morning the squadron attacked. The entrance to the harbour was narrow and was commanded by castles, but the garrison was unprepared for trouble. Most of the town's 200 guns were dismounted. There was a very small quantity of ammunition, and the garrison was far below even its peace complement. Admiral Vernon was flying his flag in a ship called the *Burford* and in the attack this vessel was fourth in line. The signal was made for the boats to land, which they did, under the very walls of the castle in front of the battery. The sailors rushed through the embrasures and the attack was practically over. On the next day, November 22nd, the other forts and the town of Porto Bello capitulated. All the ships in the harbour, including three coast-guard vessels, were captured, the brass guns were carried off, the iron guns destroyed, and the forts blown up.

Vernon had kept his word! England went mad with joy. Vernon's success was reckoned to be not only a naval, but also a great party victory. Feeling against the Government was running high. The Admiral was not slow to obtain honours at the hands of his countrymen. Both Houses of Parliament voted their thanks; the City of London voted him its Freedom, and

other cities and towns throughout the country sent congratulatory addresses to the King. All over England and Scotland houses and inns were named Porto Bello, and others of the *latter* are probably called the "Vernon's Head" to this day. But of more particular interest this evening is the fact that this exploit of Vernon's started what can only be called an orgy of medals struck in his honour. A collection which I have made of these medals is here with me tonight.

Even before the capture of Porto Bello Vernon was wondering what ought to be done next. He was in favour of taking Cuba, but realized that the capture of such a large island involved too great an operation. Nevertheless, the people at home thought Cuba could be taken, and it was determined to send him out a large force for this purpose. Meanwhile, the Admiral himself did not remain inactive. He bombarded Cartagena, which, of course, is still a flourishing town, on the 6th of March, 1740, and he captured a few days later the Fort of Chagres on the river of that name in Panama near the modern town of Aspinwall.

And you will excuse me if I digress for a moment in a much lighter vein. On the 21st of August, 1740, with the fleet at Jamaica, occurred an incident which one might be tempted to say was a greater event in the history of the British Navy, even of Great Britain itself, than all of Vernon's victories; for on that day the Admiral issued a prohibition order to the effect that rum was no longer to be served to the ship's companies. This estimable drink, which is probably not unfamiliar to some of you here, was found to be taken in such excess by the crews of the fleet that, to quote the Admiral's words, "it impaired the sailors' health, ruined their morals, and made them slaves to every brutish passion." But Vernon was not so rash or so foolish as to deny rum entirely to his men. Again, in keeping with modern days, he ordered it to be mixed, but only with water, in the proportion of one quart of water to each half pint of rum. This mixture was to be served twice a day. The sailors, though

devoted to their leader, thought this an unfortunate change, and they consequently, as sailors usually do, invented a name for such a comparatively feeble concoction. Their Admiral was accustomed to wear a boat-cloak made of grogram, a coarse fabric of silk, mohair, an wool—very popular in those days. By virtue of his love for this material Vernon's nickname was "grog," and from the man to the drink was as easy a transposition as is the more usual one of a drink to the man. Such is the origin of "grog."

> The sacred robe which Vernon wore
> Was drenched within the same (i. e., the grog tub;)
> And hence his virtues guard our shore,
> And grog derives its name.

In October, 1740, almost exactly, therefore, one year after the declaration of war, a fleet of 30 ships of the line and about 90 other vessels sailed from Portsmouth, the great British dockyard, under a distinguished officer, Rear Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle. Here I may interject that it was only at the last moment, on account of illness, that *James Wolfe,* the hero of Quebec, then a boy aged 13, did not sail in one of the ships as a volunteer. Ogle's was indeed a mighty force and included no less than 12,000 land troops, the latter at first commanded by Charles, eighth Lord Cathcart. A great storm arose in the Bay of Biscay and the fleet was scattered, but nevertheless Ogle united his forces to those of Admiral Vernon in the Harbour of Port Royal, Jamaica, in the early part of January, 1741. A few days prior to a temporary halt of the fleet at Dominica, the expedition suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Lord Cathcart. The word "irreparable" is more than justified for Cathcart was succeeded by a Brigadier-general by the name of Wentworth, who was enormously endowed with self-conceit, very much lacking in self-confidence and totally unequal to the job. The force now assembled at Port Royal was by far the most powerful armament ever seen in West Indian waters, composed as it was of no less than 115 ships under the supreme command of Edward Vernon, Vice Admiral of the Blue.

Let us now turn to an extremely interesting phase of the preparation for these operations. The Government in London decided for the *first time* in the history of the Colonies in America to invoke their assistance for purposes of war. After all, the war was against Spain and Spain was a formidable rival not only throughout the great South American continent and the West Indies, but even on the main land of what is now the United States, in Florida. It was essential that the American Colonies should help the mother country. This was indeed a *colonial war,* even more marked as such than the many troubles with the Indians and the French, since it involved the Colonies acting in their own protection in a foreign theatre of war. A copy of the declaration of war against Spain was communicated to Samuel Ogle, Governor of Maryland, on October 29, 1739, three weeks before the capture of Porto Bello, by the Duke of Newcastle, one of the principal Secretaries of State.

What relationship may have existed between Admiral Ogle and Governor Ogle, I have been unfortunately unable to ascertain.

This letter was followed by another on the 5th of January, 1740, informing Governor Ogle of the proposed attack upon the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, and notifying him of the King's desire that he should raise as many men as possible in the Province to take part in the expedition. These letters were laid before the Council of the Province of Maryland on April 11, 1740. A proclamation was immediately issued calling in urgent terms upon His Majesty's faithful servants within the Province to enlist for the glorious enterprise before them. The General Assembly was to provide the necessary funds. At a further meeting of the Council on June 30, a letter of instructions was read from the Duke of Newcastle. The force was to be formed into companies of 100 men each and it will interest you to know that the muster was to include two lieutenants and one ensign for each company, with four sergeants, four corporals, and two drummers. Field and staff officers were to be nominated by the Crown, as well as one of the lieutenants of

each company, who would meet the troops at the rendezvous in the West Indies. One sergeant in each company was to be supplied from old soldiers then in New York. The men were to have the same rank and pay as British regulars and they were to be supplied with arms and clothing. Moreover, they would receive their proper share of booty and be returned to their respective homes at the termination of hostilities. Transportation to the West Indies was to be furnished by the Province.

On July 26, and again, on August 12, proclamations were issued ordering all enlisted men to assemble at Annapolis to be instructed and exercised in their military duties. In the end the Province of Maryland voted £5,000 for the expedition and sent three companies. One hopes the muster-roll of those gallant fellows is still in existence.

The Colonial troops eventually came from nine of the colonies: five companies from Massachusetts, two from Rhode Island, two from Connecticut, five from New York, three from New Jersey, eight from Pennsylvania, four each from Virginia and North Carolina, and three from Maryland, in all a total of 36 companies, or about 3,600 men. The Provinces of New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Georgia sent no troops, the latter two probably because their forces were already being employed against the Spaniards around St. Augustine. We do not know why New Hampshire failed to send its quota.

It was ordered that the Colonial troops should be embodied in four regiments under the command of a distinguished Virginian, Sir Alexander Spottswood. Spottswood had served under the great Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim in 1704. From 1710 to 1723 he had been Governor of Virginia. In 1714 Spottswood was the first white man to cross the Blue Ridge, and this exploit is said to have brought him the honour of knighthood. But, for the second time, the forces were to sustain a serious loss. On the 7th of June, 1740, Spottswood died at Annapolis, while waiting for the troops to assemble. He was succeeded in the command by the then Governor of the Commonwealth, Sir William Gooch, and the whole force eventually came to be

known as "Gooch's American Regiment." The Adjutant-general was a Colonel William Blakeney, an Irishman already in his 69th year, who was sent out from England. It is interesting to see who were the officers drawn from the Province of Maryland. Between the latter part of August and early in September, 1740, commissions were issued to the captains of the three Maryland companies. These were Thomas Addison, John Lloyd, and John Milburn. The respective lieutenants commissioned in the Province were Thomas Crabb, Thomas Lynn and John Watkins, and the three ensigns were William Chandler, John Swords, and Andrew McKittrick. Captain Thomas Addison, we are told, was a gentleman residing upon his estate in Maryland. He raised his company at his own expense, and was wounded later at Cartagena. Captain Lloyd also raised *his* company at his own expense and served throughout the operations. The same with Captain Milburn, who, we read, was on duty with the regiment until reduced in numbers. One feels sure that the families of some of these officers must be still in existence, and it would indeed be interesting if this could be confirmed.

Virginia, as I said, raised four companies, and it was in one of these that Captain Lawrence Washington, the half-brother of George Washington and his elder by fourteen years, received his commission on August 6, 1740, 195 years ago. At least one letter of Lawrence Washington's written from Jamaica in 1741 is still in existence. We know the names of the other Virginia officers of the four companies, and amongst these was an ensign of a distinguished old Dominion family who later on enjoyed a very close connection with the Province of Maryland: William Fitzhugh. Ensign Fitzhugh, who was born in 1721 and died in 1798, was 19 years of age at this time. Later on, in 1752, he married as his second wife, Anne, daughter of Peregrine Frisby and widow of John Rousby of Calvert County. Soon after 1752 Fitzhugh removed to Maryland, where he became a member of the Council of the Colony, and later of the Revolutionary Convention of August, 1776.

The process of raising the Virginia contingent was similar to the steps taken in Maryland. The necessary Act was passed by the General Assembly in May, 1740. Justices of the peace were to levy such able-bodied men as did not follow or exercise any lawful calling or employment. Sheriffs and constables were to assist in rounding them up. Any constable allowing a prospective soldier to escape was to be fined 500 pounds of tobacco. The fugitive was to be punished as a deserter. Virginia also granted £5,000 for expenses.

I will not go into the nature of the measures taken in the other colonies, but information as to these exists in their archives, at least so far as New York and Massachusetts are concerned.

The Colonial contingent, when the circumstances are considered, was raised expeditiously. The five New York companies sailed for the Caribbean on September 19, 1740. Early in October the Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts companies assembled at Sandy Hook with a few New Yorkers who had been left behind, and on October 10 they were joined by the New Jersey men. This force, under Colonel Blakeney, whom I have already mentioned, sailed on October 12 directly for Jamaica. The troops from Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia, under Governor Gooch, arrived soon after, sometime before December 8. These were in their turn followed by the four companies which had left Wilmington, North Carolina, on November 5.

The ensuing two months or so were employed in preparations for the attack on Cartagena, armed with 300 guns and garrisoned by 4,000 men under the command of the Spanish Admiral Don Blas de Lezo. It has been said that Vernon made a mistake in not at once attacking Cuba, which most critics agree would have fallen without much difficulty. But Vernon was at first distracted by a French fleet off Hispaniola since England's relations with France were strained, and not until the Frenchmen had left for home waters did he decide on the attack on Cartagena.

The town of Cartagena is situated on the coast of what is now the Republic of Colombia, about 175 miles northeast of the Gulf of Darien, and 300 miles from Panama. The harbour, which is nearly land-locked, is seven miles in length, and affords excellent anchorage. It has two entrances, Boca Grande and Boca Chica. The latter, or "Little Mouth," which is several miles south of the town, appears to have been the only one suited to Vernon's plan of attack. The place is still fortified, although its importance has greatly waned, and the population is now about 10,000.

On the third of March, 1741, the great fleet appeared off the city, but not until the 9th could Vernon and his incompetent soldier ally, Wentworth, decide where to land. This of course gave opportunity to the enemy for the strengthening of the fortifications and obtaining reinforcements. On that day Vernon and Wentworth landed the troops near Boca Chica, and the land batteries were also attacked by the ships. The protective boom was shattered and the passage carried. Vernon, in great exultation, immediately sent home a ship to announce the approaching victory. Its arrival in England was undoubtedly responsible for a further large crop of what may aptly be called "Victory medals," many of which are on exhibition on the table beside me. A few days later, troops were landed at a place called La Quinta, within a mile of Cartagena, at the other end of the spacious harbour. In this operation Colonel Blakeney advanced with the first division of 1,400 men, in addition to 200 Americans under Captain Lawrence Washington who acted as pioneers. The town of Cartagena itself was protected by the formidable fort of San Lazaro. The enemy abandoned Castillo Grande, the fort on the opposite side of the Bay. Had there been proper coordination between the attacks made by the land forces and the fleet, San Lazaro would have been readily taken; but the worst of feeling prevailed between Vernon and Wentworth, and thus there were two commanders at odds with each other, instead of one good one alone, as was so essential to success. The town was bombarded for three days, terrifying

the inhabitants and injuring church steeples and convents. I am told that one of the British cannon balls is still imbedded in a wall of the Cathedral.

The final assault, which was made on April 9, is thus described: "Stung by the reproaches of the Admiral, General Wentworth called a council of his officers, and with their advice he attemppted to carry Fort San Lazaro by storm. Twelve hundred men, headed by General Guise, and led by some Spanish deserters or peasants, who were ignorant, or more likely in the pay of the Spanish Governor, whom they pretended to have left, marched boldly up to the front of the fort. But the guides led them to the very strongest part of the fortifications; and, what was worse, when they came to try the scaling-ladders with which they were provided, they found them too short. This "occasioned a fatal delay, and presently the brilliant morning of the tropics broke with its glaring light upon what had been intended for a nocturnal attack. Under these circumstances the wisest thing would have been an instant retreat; but the soldiers had come to take the fort, and with bull-dog resolution they seemed determined to take it at every disadvantage. They stood under a terrible plunging fire, adjusted their ladders, and fixed upon points where they might climb; and they did not yield an inch of ground, though every Spanish cannon and musket told upon them and thinned their ranks. Some of the grenadiers had even attained a footing on the ramparts, when their brave leader, Colonel Grant, was mortally wounded. The grenadiers were swept over the face of the wall, but still the rest sustained the enemy's fire for several hours, and did not retreat till 600, or one-half their original number, lay dead or wounded at the foot of those fatal walls."

And so the main object of the great attack failed. But great damage was done to the Spaniards. Six men-of-war were taken or destroyed as well as seven galleons and 60 smaller craft. Six forts with 196 guns were laid in ruins.

It must fill us with pride that the American contingent distinguished itself. In the first land attack of March 9 the 200

American troops under Captain Washington were mentioned afterwards for their gallantry. We also know that Wentworth, in a note to the Admiral dated April 2, 1741, demanded that 1,500 Americans under the command of Colonel Gooch should be landed to assist him in the main assault on Fort San Lazaro, on April 9, and in this attack Captain Washington further distinguished himself. But by now the wet season had set in and the men were falling very fast from disease as well as from Spanish bullets. Of the 6,600 men who had been landed in all, more than half were either dead or in hospital, dying. On April 17, 1741, the miserable remnant of about 3,000 were re-embarked, and the fleet returned to Port Royal, Jamaica, leaving a few ships to demolish the captured forts. The last tents to be struck were five belonging to the Colonial contingent. The loss of life amongst the ships' crews must also have been great since Vernon wrote from Jamaica to the Duke of Newcastle on May 30th, 1741, that "Without the aid of some Americans we could not get our ships to sea." We also know from a letter written by Wentworth dated April 1, 1743, that Lawrence Washington not only safely returned to Virginia, but also successfully brought back the remnant of his men. But whatever the hardships that Lawrence Washington encountered, he at least came home proud of his chief. He was a loyal soldier and could commit no greater act of devotion than to name his beautiful estate on one of the bluffs of the Potomac River after his beloved commanding officer. It is even impossible to think that Lawrence's love for Vernon had much to do with his obtaining only five years after the affair at Cartagena a midshipman's warrant in the British Navy for his young brother George. And as most of you here will probably realize, there were others who loved old "Grog" Vernon, in spite of his reputedly violent temper, imperiousness, vanity and impatience. At least one Maryland soldier who participated in the campaign, William Hebb, had the same feelings as Lawrence Washington. Down in St. Mary's County, on St. Mary's River, we are fortunate to have that beautiful old house, "Porto Bello," though the companion home,

"Cartagena," also originally owned by Hebb, being in a bad state of repair, alas! was pulled down only last year.

The love of these men for their commanding officer must remind us of the love of many of your Naval Officers and men who served in the Great War under Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly at Queenstown, when the Mother country had again called on the daughter country for assistance in a foreign theatre of war. I should not be surprised if some little cottage in the neighbourhood of Newport or Annapolis is not called Queenstown cottage or Mount Bayly!

I will deal briefly with the remainder of the operations and with Vernon's subsequent life. Toward the end of May, 1741, a large part of the fleet was sent home under Commodore Lestock, whose name will be found on some of the medals which I will show you. Vernon, Ogle and Wentworth decided that their honour could only be retrieved by an attack on Cuba. Santiago was the point of attack decided on, and since the defenses were too strong to allow of the ships proceeding through the narrow entrance into the harbour, as was destined to be the case nearly 160 years later in your own Spanish-American War, they proceeded to what is now the well-known naval base of Guantanamo. Vernon called Guantanamo Cumberland Harbour. The troops were landed, but nothing was accomplished. Vernon wished to advance by land to Santiago, but Wentworth refused. In December, 1741, the forces reembarked for Port Royal. A reinforcement of two thousand soldiers shortly arrived from England and it was then decided to attack Panama. The inefficient Wentworth, who was still in command of the troops, found after investigation that his forces were insufficient, and the expedition, after reaching Porto Bello, returned to Port Royal. Vernon sailed for England in His Majesty's ship *Boyne* on the 19th of October, 1742, reaching the port of Bristol at the beginning of the new year. In his absence the Admiral had been elected Member of Parliament for two different places. He elected to serve for Ipswich in Suffolk, where he had purchased an estate. For

the next two years he was attentive to his duties in Parliament and wrote a large number of political pamphlets. In April, 1745, he was promoted to the rank of Admiral of the White, and to command the ships in the North Sea. This gave him some cause for exercising his judgment, in view of the threatening actions of the Stuart pretender. On the first of December, 1745, he was removed from his command at his own request. A little later on he got into serious trouble with the Admiralty over some anonymous pamphlets which he, in fact, either wrote or inspired, and on April 11, 1746, their Lordships struck his name from the list of flag officers. Nevertheless, the bluff old Admiral continued to take a warm interest in matters relating to the Navy, and frequently spoke in the House of Commons. Edward Vernon died suddenly on his estate on October 30, 1757, just prior to his 73rd anniversary. Vernon married the daughter of a man of Kent and had three sons, all of whom died young. There is an excellent portrait of the Admiral by Gainsborough in the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington.

The medals commemorative of Vernon's exploits have given numismatists a great deal of trouble. At a reasonable estimate there are approximately two hundred and fifty distinct varieties, nearly all of which are represented in this collection. But as distinct from varieties, there are only some forty different types, of which about one dozen predominate. The difficulty in collecting them is largely one of identifying the frequently small differences in the varieties due to careless designing, die defects, etc. This difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the vast majority of the medals which have come down to us are in extremely poor condition. There is no doubt that many of them ultimately found their way into the pockets of the man in the street and circulated as coins or were used as counters. The lettering and features of the officers represented were consequently rubbed and correct identification became difficult. So that it is very important to procure these

medals in as unworn a condition as possible. The joy of collecting the Vernon Series, as it is called, is largely stimulated by the fact that the last word has not been written on the subject. Many distinguished authorities have attempted to make a complete catalogue, but so far, with only partial success. The most recent authority in America is the late Dr. Malcom Storer of Boston, and the most recent one in England, the Marquess of Milford Haven, the distinguished Admiral, whom, if you will remember, was relieved from his command at the beginning of the Great War on account of his German family connections. Neither of these authorities saw actually in the metal many of the varieties which undoubtedly do exist. Yet both had fine collections. I understand that Dr. Storer's is going to the Naval Academy, where it seems extremely proper that it should go. Lord Milford Haven's magnificent collection of naval medals was broken and sold after his death. In England the British Museum has undoubtedly the best collection and one is now in process of formation at the new National Maritime Museum. There are also good collections in one or two South American countries. A good many can be found at the Massachusetts Historical Society and at the American Numismatic Society in New York. Turning now more closely to the medals themselves, the vast majority bear a direct reference either to Porto Bello or Cartagena, and carry a portrait of Vernon. But some refer to Fort Chagres and even Havana. In one or two the names of the forts at Cartagena are inscribed. And other personages shown are Don Blas, the Spanish Admiral, General Wentworth, and Vernon's naval assistants, Admiral Ogle, Commodore Brown, and Commodore Lestock. The medals, be it said, are the reverse of artistic and a great many are most crudely designed. But the wealth of variety and minuteness of detail in the portrayal of the ships and of the towns of Cartagena and Porto Bello is extraordinary. Many medals show a row-boat with Don Blas escaping with two companions. The legends are as interesting as the personalities shown. The greater

proportion of the medals carry the inscription "He took Porto Bello with six ships only," or its variations. Other favourite legends are "The British glory revived by Admiral Vernon," "True British heroes took Cartagena," which they didn't, etc. A very large number bear pictures of the harbor and town of Porto Bello, with the six ships standing towards the entrance. On others there are shown guns and other military trophies and anchors. Don Blas is frequently shown on his knees surrendering his sword to Vernon, but actually he seems to have escaped in the row-boat. The medals were struck in every conceivable variety of metal, though only one exists in gold and that is held by some to be spurious. The silver ones are exceedingly rare. Being meant for the populace they were sold by the thousand in copper, copper gilt, "pinchbeck" metal, an alloy of five parts of copper and one of zinc, bronze, brass, lead, etc. On several we find the names or initials of the designers or other issuers. At least one source of the medals was Dublin. One or two of them were not primarily used as medals but formed the tops of keys or were uniface and placed on the lids of snuff boxes. I will conclude with an amusing sidelight. For years no one could understand why on one of the medals showing all three portraits of Vernon, Ogle and Wentworth, two lion cubs were represented on the ground beside them. It remained for Dr. Storer, whom I have mentioned, to solve the mystery. The *Boston Evening Post* of July 20, 1741, in its London letter states: "On Monday last, the day of rejoicing for the glorious success of Cartagena, two young lions were whelped at the Tower and are named Vernon and Ogle."

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THE DAILY JOURNAL[1] OF ROBERT MILLS.[2] BALTIMORE, 1816.

Edited by Richard Xavier Evans, M. A.

Jan. 1. 1816 Through the goodness of my heavenly parent am I preserved with my dear wife [3] & children to witness the entrance of a new year. May his mercy lead us safely thro' it, and find us useful, and increasing in knowledge & understanding. Furnished designs for Exchange & delivered them to the president of the trustees, Mr Patterson. Went to hear Dr Ingles deliver a discourse on the opening of the new year.

Jan. 6. Called on Mr Etting to consult upon the plan of the improvement of Charles & Center Sts.

Jan. 10. Called on Mr Williams & Col. Buchanan.

[1] Excerpts from original MS in the Library of Congress.

[2] Robert Mills (1781-1855), best known as the architect of the national Washington Monument, was the first native-born American-educated architect. In 1816 he was actively engaged in Baltimore upon the execution of his design for the Baltimore Washington Monument, having won the premium offered two years before.

[3] Eliza Barnwell Smith (1784-1863) married Robert Mills on Oct. 15, 1809. She was the daughter of Gen. John Smith, of Hackwood Park, near Winchester, Va.

Jan. 11. Through divine goodness my dear Eliza was safely delivered of a daughter [4] this morning at 10 min. past 9 o'clock.

Jan. 12. Attended most of the day to the erection of furnace at Monument Place.

Jan. 15. Engaged in seeing the operation of furnace. Drawing Richmond Tomb. Call'd to see Mr Peale.[5]

Jan. 16. Wrote out deed for 50 feet of lot on George St., Ph[a] to Wm. Griffith, Esq., valued at 1750$, being exchange for property bought of him at Burlington & a lot in Ph[a].

Jan. 17. Engaged in drawing design of a single house 32x53 for Mr J. Williams. Received a letter from Brother.[6]

Jan. 20. Had an air fire place put up at Mr Bachonne's Academy.

Jan. 22. Wrote a letter to the Trustees. Made drawing of an Elevation of Exchange. Began drawing plan of Exchange on a large scale.

Feb. 1. Wrote a letter & enclosed a sketch of design for Exchange with the statement of the cost of the center block.

Feb. 2. Called to see Mr Peale & consulted about heating his Museum.[7] Mr Latrobe [8] (my old preceptor's) design for the Exchange approved.

Feb. 3. Consulting with Mr Wilson about Baptist Church designs. Commenced the study of designs for the Baptist Church, proposed to be built corner of Sharp & Lombard Sts.

Feb. 10. Finished design & estimate of Baptist Church.

[4] Mary Powell (1816-1894).
[5] Charles Willson Peale, father of Rembrandt Peale.
[6] Thomas, residing in Philadelphia.
[7] Situated on Holliday Street, designed by Mills.
[8] Benjamin Henry Latrobe, under whom Mills studied from 1803-9.

Sketched in the evening design for Mr Cox, cashier of the Bank of Baltimore.

Feb. 12. Called on Messrs Wilson to shew them designs for B Church. Met the bldg. committee in the evening to lay plans before them.

Feb. 14. Called on Mr Lucas & submitted designs for store front. Made an estimate of the cost of the same.

Feb. 15. Engaged in drawing disposition of the marble in the base of the W. Monument. Called on Mr Wilson who informed me of the adoption of my plan for the B Church.

Feb. 17. Began an air furnace in my house on St. Paul's lane. Met the building committee of the Baptist Church.

Feb. 21. Attended to furnace. Mr Tort & myself agreed upon the exchange of property in Charleston.[9]

Feb. 22. Received a note from Mr Walsh upon whom I waited in the morning.

Feb. 23. Examined with Mr Walsh his house on Great York Street. Met the committee of the Baptist Church in the evening.

[9] "Ground of Exchange of Property between Joshua Tort and myself. Feby 21st 1816.

Joshua Tort

House & lot in fee in M— Street—valued at	$1000
2 Houses in Guilford Alley	1100
2 do in Potter St	1500
1 do in Western precincts	350
Part of bldg on St Pauls lane	431
	$4331

Robt Mills

House & lot in fee in Elliot St	4031
Charleston, Sth Carolina	
Lease for 4 years of house on St Philip St	255
Charleston	
Payt of back ground rent in Western pret	45
	$4331

Feb. 24. Engaged in taking dimensions and making working drawing of the front of Mr Lucas store.

Feb. 26. Engaged in attending to the B Church business & my own house. Mr Walker began digging foundation of B Church.

Feb. 28. Executed papers with Mr Joshua Tort for an exchange of property & had a settlement with him of contract on St Paul's Lane.

March 1. Rec'd letter from Richmond and concluded to go to that city.

March 5. Left Baltimore for Richmond. Arrived at Washington, took a hack, and went to Alexandria where I slept.

March 6. Left Alexandria and arrived at Fredricksburg. Stopped for the night.

March 7. Left Fredricksburg and arrived at Richmond by early candle light.

March 8. Visited Col. Ambler's family and took up my residence there. Began sketch of the plan for the Courthouse. Wrote Mrs Mills.

March 9. Continued drawing of the Courthouse, and met the committee to whom the plan was submitted.

March 10. Went to hear Bishop Moore.

March 12. Engaged in designs for the Courthouse. Wrote Mrs Mills. Dined with Mr Nicholas.

March 13. Engaged in drawing of Courthouse. Met the Committee in the evening & submitted plans. Rec'd a letter from Mrs Mills.

March 14. Engaged in larger drawing of Courthouse. Dined with Mr Wickham.[10]

March 15. Engaged in design for Courthouse. Dined with Dr Brockenbrough.[11]

[10] Judge John Wickham, whose residence in Richmond, now the Valentine Museum, was designed by Mills.

[11] Dr John Brockenbrough was chairman of the committee in charge of

March 16. Began a study of a proposed rout of a canal from the Basin to Rockets without locks. Engaged in design for Courthouse. Wrote Mrs Mills.

March 18. Met the Commissioners of Court H. who approved of plan & met the Town Hall who confirmed it. Finished sketch of a proposed canal from the Basin to Rockets.

March 19. Began & finished sketches of certain improvements of the Capitol square.

March 20. Left drawing of the Capitol square with the Governor for consideration.

March 21. Began a letter to the Commissioners of navigation to Rockets from the basin.

March 22. Rode out with Col. Ambler to Mitchell's spring. Finished letter to Commissioners & gave it to Col. Ambler with drawing.

March 23. Left Richmond for Baltimore. Arrived at Fredricksburg. The Commissioners of the Court House agree to give me $400 for my design.

March 24. Arrived at Alexandria where I took the steamboat for Georgetown. Arrived there by 8 o'clock.

March 25. Left Georgetown and arrived in Baltimore & found my dear wife & children in health thank God.

March 26-29. Engaged chiefly this week in anything the persons engaged in my house. Mr Louis gave me the privilege of using his wall in building over the alley of my house. Borrowed 4000 bricks from the Exchange trustees.

April 2. The foundation of the Baptist Church begun.

April 3. Engaged in giving directions in my house & walked out with Mrs Mills to see some hanging paper.

April 6. Made sketch of alterations of Mr G's house.

the building of the Monumental Church in Richmond, designed by Mills. Mills was also architect of Dr. Brockenbrough's residence in Richmond, now the Confederate Museum.

April 7. Wrote Mr Davison and Capt. Morris. Requested Capt. M. to send us 3 or 400 wt of bacon.

April 8. Engaged about house.

April 9. Engaged in laying out foundation of Church.

April 22. Engaged in laying out circle of Church.

April 23. Agreed to purchase the Blacksmith's stock of tools of Mr Smith for 400$ to be paid for in 2, 3, 4, & 5 months. Engaged in laying out the B Church.

April 24. Engaged Mr Francis to put up Blacksmith's shop at Monument by the day, commencing today.

April 27. Mr Francis finished his work of Blacksmith's shop. Paid him 7$.

April 30. Laid out the lines of the Washington Monument for the stone cutters.

May 1. The 1st block of marble was this day laid at the Washington Monument. The Blacksmith's tools move to the Monument.

May 2. Engaged at Monument, and Baptist Church.

May 3. Wrote Mr Page [12] & sent paper to Col. Ambler.

May 4. Engaged at my house, at monument & church. Mr Moore from Phª visited us.

May 6. Began moving furniture to new house.

May 11. Moved all the family into new house where I humbly trust the blessings of God will accompany us.

May 13. Engaged man to white wash old house, also to clean, get in wood, &c.

May 16. Laid out the corners of the middle pier of the Washington Monument. Statement of monies for the Washington Monument:

May	4000
June	3500
July	3500
Augt	2500

[12] Caster B. Page.

Septr.	2500
Octr.	3000
Novr.	2000
Decr.	4000
	$25,000

May 17. Wrote a letter to the W. M. Committee on the decoration.

May 18. Engaged attending to hanging landscape paper in passage.

May 19. Wrote Sister Sarah.

May 21-25. Engaged in making the working drawings of the Washington Monument.

May 26. Wrote Brother.

May 30. Wrote Mr Connelly, Mr Read 64 Dock St, and Sister Sarah by mail.

June 1. Concluded agreement with Messrs Touran & Steuart that they should furnish the interior steps of Monument of marble at the rate of 6$ a piece.

June 2. Wrote Mr Marx, McKenzie, Page & Ambler, for Mr Elliott.

June 4. Got Mrs Ambler's silk. Began cleaning my boots & shoes at one dollar per month.

June 5. Wrote Mrs Ambler respecting Susan. Sent Mrs Ambler her silk by Mr Elliot. Polly Altee arrived this morning. Drawings in prospect to be made:
Washington Monument as altered
1st Baptist Church Baltimore
Court house Richmond

June 7. Rec'd a letter from Sister Sarah by Mr Parsons. Wrote Brother Thomas.

June 8. Wrote Dr Brockenbrough about Monument, tomb, house, & slates for M. Laid out some work at B Church.

June 13. Engaged at Baptist Church and monument. Examined Mr Cole's house, alterations.

June 15. Began the air furnace for E. J. Coale, Esq, Mr Stallings bricklayer.

June 16. Gen'l Smith [13] & Mr Davison from Winchester visited us. The Gen'l staid with us.

June 17. Continued Mr Coale's furnace. Visited Museum, &c with the Gen'l. Dined with Mr Robinson.

June 18. Visited different parts of the City with the Gen'l. Dined with Messrs McDonald & Rodgers.

June 19. Rode out with the Gen'l & Mr Holmes to Hampton & returned to dinner in the afternoon. The Gen'l left us with Mr Davison for home.

June 20. Engaged with Mr Coale's furnace. Called on Mr Georgen (?) about addition to his back building. Engaged Mr Morton as the carpenter.

June 24. Left Baltimore for Ph[a] on the steam boat and arrived at Wilmington by 12 at night. Stormy weather.

June 25. Left Wilmington and arrived at Ph[a] by 11 o'clock. Put up at Brother's. Called at the Washington Hall. Rain. Attended to business.

June 28. Settled my business with Thos. Ware and rec'd his acknowledgment in my favor for 423$. Made drawing of vestibule of Washington Hall.

June 29. Visited Academy and saw Allston's picture of great merit.

July 1. Went out with Mr Elias Yarnel to the Marine Asylum to consult upon a plan for heating the rooms.

July 3. Left Ph[a] for Baltimore accompanied by Sister & her son on steamboat at 4 o'clock.

July 4. Arrived in Baltimore at 3. Found all at home well thank God.

[13] Father-in-law of Mills.

July 8. Mr Chavelier offers to do the Ionic Columns of the Baptist Church for 25$ a piece.

July 10. Mr Stevenson & Stallings began taking down furnace at Col. Buchanan's house. Attended to them. Preparing to begin foundations to Mr Georgen's addition to his house.

July 11. Messrs S & S finished taking down work. Began building new furnace. Made drawing of school house for Mr E. J. Coale.

July 12. Mr Stallings continued building furnace. Gave drawing & instructions to Mr Hussey of school house.

July 13. Mr Stallings & Stevenson at work at furnace. Made plans of furnaces for St Paul's Church and the Asylum for insane persons near Ph[a].

July 15. Engaged at Col Buchanan's furnace. Brother visited us from Ph[a].

July 20. Called on Mr Davis to consult about Water company's business.

Mr L. Taylor's Furnace
Dr Alexander's Furnace
Mr James Wilson do
Mechanics Bank do
St Paul's Church do
Gen'l Winders do
Maniac Asylum do
Mr Georgens (?) do

July 26. Began furnace in back parlor. Made a sketch of the front of W. B. Freeman's office next Mechanic's Bank.

July 28. Radius of B Church Dome 58 ft. Span clear 76.4.

July 29. Continued furnace. Mr Williamson called to consult about his machine for separating garlic from the wheat.

Aug. 1. Continued furnace. Laid out front of Mr Freeman's office. Examined Dr Alexander's house for two furnaces.

Aug. 2. Continued furnace at Mr Taylor's. The water company elected me their president. Mr Davis resigned.

Aug. 6. Began 2 furnaces for Dr Alexander. Visited with Mr Davis the works of the Water Company.

Aug. 7. My duties to the Water Company commence this day, holding 1500$ per annum.

Aug. 8. Continued furnaces. Engaged Messrs B & H to do the Richmond tomb.

Aug. 10. Continued furnace. Preparing to take my family to Virginia.

Aug. 12. Left Baltimore with my family on a visit to Hackwood.[14] Put up for the night at Poplar Spring.

Aug. 13. Left the Spring, passed thro' Fredricktown and put up for night at the stone mill, 3 miles this side of Harper's ferry.

Aug. 14. Left Stone mill and arrived at Hackwood.

Aug. 15. Went into Winchester & visited Augustine,[15] &c.

Aug. 16. Left Hackwood & returned alone to Baltimore. Put up at Harper's ferry, kept now by Mr Graham.

Aug. 17. Left the Ferry, and put up at Poplar Spring.

Aug. 18. Left Spring and arrived at Baltimore at 3 o'clock. Thank God for his mercies.

Aug. 19. Made drawings of a monument for Mr Davison. Sent it to Mr Davison, and wrote Mrs Mills.

Aug. 20. Made detail drawing for Baptist Church. Began drawing of the plan of the City of Baltimore.

Aug. 27. Continued drawing of Plan of Baltimore. Preparing to visit Hackwood.

[14] Hackwood, Smith family seat, near Winchester, Va., erected by John Smith in 1777, still standing.

[15] Augustine Charles Smith, brother of Eliza.

Aug. 28. Left Baltimore for Hackwood to visit my family. Put up at Fredricktown. Visited Mrs Murdock's family.[16]

Aug. 29. Left Fredricktown and arrived at Hackwood at dusk. Found my child Jacqueline[17] very unwell.

Aug. 30. At Hackwood. Rode into Winchester with Mrs Mills & children to see the Doctor Conrad.

Aug. 31. Mr & Mrs Murdock left Hackwood for Fredricktown. Went into Winchester with my family & spent the day at Dr Conrad's.

Sept. 3. My dear Jacquelina very ill with a high fever, but thru the goodness of God her fever abated during the night.

Sept. 6. Left Winchester (for Baltimore) passing thru Fairfax court house, arrived at Alexandria.

Sept. 9. Mr Nickel continued building furnace at St Paul's Church. Engaged with Mr Davis in running the lines of the lot bought by Dr White of the Water Company.

Sept. 12. Engaged in drawings of W. Monument & B Church & wrote report of Water Company's business & met the Board & laid it before them.

Sept. 14. Engaged at furnace & B. C. drawings. Rec'd a letter from Mrs M. Susan Anderson went to the Eastern Shore this evening.

Sept. 18. Attended furnace at Mr Robinson. Wrote Mrs Mills by Mr Robinson's son. Attended at Gen'l Smith's to advise on a marble mantle.

Sept. 24. Engaged with Mr Davis, taking the levels of Holliday, Center & Bath Sts, and surveying the line for the new road to intersect the York turnpike.

[16] Edward J. H. Smith, sister of Eliza, married George W. Murdock.

[17] Jacqueline Mills (1814-1859) married Edward Pendleton, son of Sen. George Pendleton, of Virginia. President Buchanan delivered the funeral oration at her death.

Sept. 26. Accompanied the directors of the W. C. to examine the new road. Mr Williams introduced Mr Capani, sculptor from Italy to me.

Oct. 1. At Hackwood.

Oct. 2. Left Hackwood with family for Baltimore in company with Mrs Smith [18] & Mrs Davison. Put up at H ferry.

Oct. 8. Engaged in sketching front door & stables for Mr Donaldson & Mr Patridge.

Oct. 11. Laid out the foundations of the Portico at Col. Buchanan's.

Oct. 14. Engaged making drawing of Richmond M.

Oct. 17. Miss Polly Bush, Mrs Hall, & the Miss Holliday dined with us. Wrote a description of Washington Hall & sent it to Mr H. Hall. Wrote Mr Ashbridge.

Oct. 24. Wrote a letter enclosing 4 drawings of Washington Hall . . . sent by the owner of the Steamboat at Washington.

Nov. 2. Surveyed the result of new road from N. Boundary Stone of Water Company to the York road. Engaged in the morning at B Church.

Nov. 4. Made a drawing of survey of the road, attended to different employments. In the evening began setting office to rights.

Nov. 11. Began design of a house for Mr T. Chase.

Nov. 12. Visited Penitentiary & Hospital to examine situation for furnace for heating the rooms.

Nov. 16. Went out with Mr Sterrets to his country seat. Examined it. Went to the steam boat at 5 o'clock to Ph[a].

Nov. 19. Engaged in various business. Went to concert in

[18] Anna Smith, mother of Eliza, and daughter of Gen. John Bull, of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania.

the evening. Sister had a fine hearty daughter born this evening.

Nov. 20. Left Ph[a] in the steamboat for Baltimore. Arrived at New Castle.

Nov. 21. Left New Castle and arrived at Baltimore at ½ past 4 o'clock safely thank God.

Nov. 25. Made sketch of 2 designs for Mr Winchester's front door.

Nov. 26. Mr McHany began taking down old work at Hospital for furnace.

Nov. 27. Mr Sterret adopted plan of his country house & placed the business of carrying it into execution to me.

Dec. 4. Wrote out Report of Water Works for the past month. Made drawing of the design for the Library & private office of Mr Robinson.
For a cow & calf—cash—$16.

Dec. 12. Mr Sterret agrees to appropriate $3500 to building his country house exclusive of lumber bill.

Dec. 20. Finished drawing of Col Buchanan's house. Also drawing of range of houses for water company.

Dec. 23. Measured stone work of W. Monument with Col. Mosher.

Dec. 25. Walk'd out to the Quarries.

Dec. 28. Engaged in various business. Read a letter, package from Brother with drawings of Baptist Church.

Monies to be collected

Baptist Church.	$200
Court house Richmond	200
Governor of V. for D. P. Esq.	30
Mr Georgen (?)	150
Col. Buchanan	100
Mr Donaldson	15

J. Winchester	30
Mr S. Sterret	300
Mr Chase	100
Water Works	375
W. Monument	1000
Col. Buchanan's furnace	200
L. Taylor	300
Dr Alexander	320
St Paul's Church	400
A. Robinson	130
Mr McPherson	200
City Mill W. Works	41
Powhattaon Factory	150
McDonald & Ridgley	300
Hospital	30
McDonald	30
	$5,201

Query, Heat

In a series of close fire places could not the smoke from the first enter the next fire place & be there consumed, & thus lessen the quantity of fuel to be used, and the smoke of the 2d fire place pass into a 3d, &c, &c. ?

Water

In making Jones Falls navigable as high as Center St., make a lock at its mouth, which will require no digging of the bed, and the advantages gained by this lock are 1st preventing the bed from collecting rubbish, or if it collects mud, it may be cleaned by opening the lock gates & washing it out; 2d giving all the waste water for purposes of machinery, &c, & enabling a dry dock to be established which this waste water would apply; 3d, establishing a street of business along the whole line of this navigable stream.

Rail Roads

A simple cheap & expeditious species of railroad may be formed by laying pieces of timber lengthwise on the road 9x12 at a parallel distance from center to center equal to the distance of carriage wheels, and covering the top surface with a cast iron plate secured to the timber. 2d Securing each side of this plated timber with quarry stone of a large size about — feet or 18 in wide. 3d Filling in the space between the plated timber as a road. If only one railway is made it will be necessary to provide a . . . road.

The whole cost of such a road per mile will be thus:

35 ton of iron @ $50	1750
30 ft of timber @ $20	600
paving each side	800
preparing & building road	1000
	$4150

LAND RECORDS OF BALTIMORE COUNTY, 1679 AND 1680.

Contributed by Louis Dow Scisco.

No special features of local progress are revealed by the land papers of these two years. Accession of a new court clerk brings a noticeable change in the style of the records. Alienation entries of later date were interpolated in the record in 1681 and in 1693.

The items next following are summarized from pages 28 to 54 of Liber I R No. P P, a modern transcription whose contents are derived from a former book that the transcriber calls Liber

LxC No. 1. The liber text abounds in copyist's errors. Despite marginal corrections, there remain evident errors in some of the names and probable errors in others.

Deed, January 7, 1678-79. Arthur Taillor, planter, conveying to Thomas Cooke, planter, the 315-acre tract "Spring Neck" on the north side of Gunpowder River, adjoining land formerly laid out for Robert Taillor. Wife Francis signs with grantor. Witnesses, John Dunston, Deputy Clerk Thomas Hedge. Acknowledged before John Watterton and Henry Haslewood. Wife gives consent before Edward Bedell.

Deed, April 15, 1679, Charles Gorsuch of Talbot County conveying to Thomas James the 100-acre tract "The Forrest" on the west side of Back River which is adjacent to Patapsco River. Witnesses, John Arden, Rowland Thornburgh. Acknowledged by grantor before George Wells and Henry Haslewood, and by Mr. Miles Gibson as attorney for grantor's wife Sarah.

Letter of attorney, February 8, 1678-79, Sarah Gorsuch, understanding by her husband Charles Gorsuch that he has sold 80 acres to John Boren and 100 acres to Thomas James, all on south side of Back River, desires "Cozen Miell Gibson" to acknowledge her consent in court. Witnesses, Howell Powell, John Turner.

Deed, April 15, 1679, Charles Gorsuch of Talbot County conveying to John Boring the 80-acre tract "Swan Harbour" on the west side of Back River which is adjacent to Patapsco River. Witnesses, Thomas James, Rowland Thornburgh. Acknowledged before George Wells and Henry Haslewood by Mr. Miles Gibson as attorney for grantor's wife Sarah.

Letter of attorney, February 8, 1678-79, from Sarah Gorsuch to Miles Gibson is recorded a second time.

Deed, April 15, 1679, John Arthern conveying to Rowland Thornbroufe, planter, the 100-acre tract "Davies fancy" at the head of Howard's Branch at the Middle Branch on north side of Patapsco River, adjoining David Poole's land, it being formerly patented to David Williams. Witnesses, Thomas James, Hendrick Enloes. Grantor John Arden and wife Sarah acknowledge to grantee Rowland Thornborough, and wife consents, before George Wells and Henry Haslewood. Interpolated entry that Clerk Thomas Hedge, for the sheriff, on April 18, 1693, has received from Rowland Thornburgh four shillings for alienation.

Letter of attorney, March 11, 1678-79, Samuell Hatton, gentleman, of Talbot County, appointing Charles Gorsuch of same county, or James Phillips, his attorney to acknowledge in court a conveyance of 400 acres to Miles Gibson; his wife Elizabeth Hatton also appointing Gorsuch or Phillips her attorney to acknowledge consent. Witnesses, Thomas Delahay, William Gane. Deputy Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies acknowledgment made April 15 in court.

Deed, March 11, 1678-79, Samuell Hatton, gentleman, and wife Elizabeth, of Talbot County, for 7,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Miles Gibson, gentleman, the 400-acre tract "Persimmon Point" at Rumley Creek, oppo-

site Capt. George Utye's land, it being patented January 7, 1659-60, to James Rigby, cooper. Witnesses, Thomas Delahay, William Gane. Acknowledged April 15 before George Wells and Henry Haslewood by Charles Gorsuch, attorney for grantors.

Letter of attorney, April 9, 1679, Nicholas Gassaway of South River in Anne Arundel County appointing Miles Gibson of Bush River his attorney to assign title and deliver 300 acres to Robert Love of Gunpowder River. Witnesses, Thomas Lightfoot, Thomas Watkings.

Deed, June 3, 1679, Nicholas Gassaway, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, conveying to Robert Love, planter, the 300-acre tract "Charles his purchase" at Foster's Creek on north side of Gunpowder River, adjoining Arthur Taylor's tract "Georges Hill," it being patented February 27, 1677-78, under a 450-acre land warrant of February 15, 1676-77. Deed signed only by M. Gibson. Witnesses, Michaell Judd, Clerk Thomas Hedge. Clerk Hedge certifies that Mr. Miles Gibson as attorney for Capt. Nicholas Gassaway acknowledges before Col. George Wells and Maj. Thomas Long, commissioners.

Deed, July 1, 1679, Christopher Tapley, boatwright, conveying to John Durham, planter, the 100-acre tract "Levies Tribe" on south side of Bush River, as patented July 20, 1673, to Tapley and Levy Wharfe, planters, under a 1,600-acre land warrant of April 8, 1672, to Charles James. Witnesses, Thomas Durbin, Clerk Thomas Hedge. Clerk Hedge certifies that grantor acknowledges before Col. George Wells and Maj. Thomas Long.

Deed August 4, 1679, Edward Reeves conveying to William Burn 175 acres of the 350-acre tract "The United Friendshipp" at Middle Creek on north side of Gunpowder River, adjoining to land formerly laid out for John Collett, the whole tract being patented July 20, 1677, to Reeves and Lodowick Williams by Gov. Thomas Notley, embracing 175 acres for Reeves under a 471-acre land warrant of May 26, 1676, to George Yate, and 175 acres for Williams under a 200-acre warrant of May 20, 1676, to him. Witnesses, John Cooke, Clerk Thomas Hedge. Clerk Hedge certifies that grantor acknowledges, and wife Ann gives consent, before Maj. Thomas Long and Mr. Miles Gibson, commissioners.

Deed, August 1, 1679, William Hollis of Baltimore County and Charles Gorsuch of Talbot County, planters, conveying to Miles Gibson, planter, the 300-acre tract "Hunting Neck" at the head and on east side of Hunting Creek on east side of Bush River, patented July 1, 1675, to Hollis and Thomas Cole. Witnesses, Francis Lovelace, Peter Ellis. Hollis acknowledges September 2 before John Watterton and Henry Haslewood. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that Mrs. Elizabeth Hollis consents before Mr. Edward Beadle, commissioner.

Deed, August 2, 1679, Peter Ellis, planter, conveying to Simon Dawkins, cooper, 75 acres, being half of the tract "Bever Neck" at Muskeeto Creek, adjoining Capt. Henry Haslewood's plantation, said tract lately possessed by Bernard Utie, afterward by Thomas Overton and wife Jane, and now by Edward Jackson. Witnesses, Henry Haslewood, Edward Bedell. Elizabeth Ellis signs with grantor and consents before Edward

Bedell, commissioner. Acknowledged September 15 before Haslewood and Bedell.

Deed, September 2, 1679, Richard Sims, planter, of Gunpowder River, conveying to Nicholas Hempstead, planter, 100 acres of the 150-acre tract "Sims his Choice," near the head and on south side of Gunpowder River, patented September 28, 1674, to Sims, and adjoining Sims's tract "Swanson." Witnesses, Jacob Jenifer, William Osborne. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that grantor acknowledges November 4 before Col. George Wells, and Maj. Thomas Long, commissioners. Elizabeth Sims consents before John Boreing.

Deed, November 5, 1679, Hendrick Enloes conveying to John Boaring the 100-acre tract "Julose Loyne" on the north side of Back River, adjoining Robert Deman's land. Witnesses, John Hathway, Robert Bengar. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that grantor acknowledges before Col. George Wells and Maj. Thomas Long, commissioners, and wife Christian consents before Long.

Confirmation deed, November 23, 1679, John Dickenson of Talbot County, brother of Walter Dickenson of same county, confirms to Thomas Durbin a sale covering the 200-acre tract "Johnston" on north side of Patapsco River, which was patented February 4, 1659-60, to John Dickenson, assigned by him December 23, 1662, to Walter Dickenson, and sold by the latter to Durbin. Witnesses, John Stroud, George Watt.

Letter of attorney, November 23, 1679, John Dickenson of Talbot County appointing as attorney Michael (*sic*) Gibson or James Phillips to acknowledge in court a sale of 200 acres to Thomas Durbin. Witnesses, John Stroud, George Watt. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that on November 5 (*sic*) Mr. James Phillips as attorney acknowledges in court.

Deed, December 8, 1679, Charles Gorsuch of Talbot County conveying to David Jones of Baltimore County 1,200 acres in three parcels, as inherited by his wife Sarah Gorsuch under the will of Thomas Cole, first, the 550-acre tract "Coles Harbour" at head of the northwest branch of Patapsco River, second, the 450-acre tract "Maidens Choice," at head of the middle branch of Patapsco River, third, the 200-acre tract "Maryebon," formerly laid out for George Hixon of Baltimore or Anne Arundel County. Sarah Gorsuch signs with grantor. Witnesses, Rowland Thornburgh, Thomas Stone. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that Mr. Miles Gibson, attorney for Charles and Sarah Gorsuch, acknowledges on February 3, 1679-80, before George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners.

Clerk's minute, February 4, 1679-80, Clerk Thomas Hedge stating that Mr. Miles Gibson appears in court as attorney for Charles and Sarah Gorsuch to acknowledge sale of 1,200 acres to David Jones and to take acknowledgment of 380 acres sold by Jones to Gorsuch, and also Gibson appears for Ann Jones, wife of David Jones, to acknowledge sale of 380-acre tract to Gorsuch, all being before Col. George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners.

Deed, December 8, 1679, David Jones of Baltimore County conveying to Charles Gorsuch of Talbot County the 380-acre tract "Jones his Range"

at Denton Creek on north side of Patapsco River, adjoining land formerly laid out for [*Thomas*] Thomas and William Battent. Anna Jones signs with grantor. Witnesses, Rowland Thornburgh, Thomas Stone. Grantor and Ann Jones's attorney Mr. Miles Gibson acknowledge February 3, 1679-80, before George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners.

Deed, January 31, 1679-80, Solomon Thomas, planter, of Calvert, son and heir of Thomas Thomas, conveying to Charles Gorsuch of Talbot County his share in 1,100 acres called North Point, on the north side of Patapsco River, formerly taken up by Thomas Thomas and William Batten. Witnesses, John Dempill, Thomas Camm. Acknowledged June 1 before George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners, by grantor's attorney James Phillips and delivery made to Miles Gibson for grantee.

Deed, February 9, 1679-80, Walter Dickenson of Talbot County conveying to Charles Gorsuch three parcels, first, his share of 1,100 acres near the mouth of Patapsco River, formerly laid out for Thomas Thomas and William Batten; second, the 150-acre tract "Uper Spring Neck" on the east side of Bear Creek on north side of Patapsco River, and near land that grantor formerly bought from Edward Loyd and sold to Abraham Clark; third, the tract "Dickenson" near the great marsh and near the former land of Thomas and Batten. Witnesses, John Smith, Thomas Camm. Acknowledged June 1 before Col. George Wells and Mr. Edward Bedell, commissioners, by grantor's attorney James Phillips and delivery made to Miles Gibson for grantee.

Letter of attorney, February 9, 1679-80, Walter Dickenson of Talbot County appointing Miles Gibson or James Phillips to acknowledge his sale of lands to Charles Gorsuch. Witnesses, John Dickenson, Thomas Camm. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that Walter Dickenson's attorney James Phillips has acknowledged before George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners, and made delivery to Mr. Miles Gibson for Gorsuch.

Personal letter, May 26, 1680, Charles Gorsuch requesting "Cozen Gibson" to receive in court from James Phillips an acknowledgment of lands bought from Walter Dickenson and from Solomon Thomas, unless the court objects to Gibson because he is attorney alternate with Phillips, in which case Gorsuch would like Col. Wells to act for him, "and in soe doeing thou wilt oblige thy Loving uncle."

Letter of attorney, January 31, 1679-80, Solomon Thomas of Calvert County appointing Miles Gibson or James Phillips to acknowledge deed to Charles Gorsuch for land formerly taken up by his father Thomas Thomas and William Batten. Witnesses, John Dempill, Thomas Camm. Attested before George Cowley. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that on June 1 James Phillips as attorney acknowledged before Col. George Wells and Mr. Edward Bedell, commissioners, and made delivery to Mr. Gibson for Gorsuch.

Bond, January 31, 1679-80, Solomon Thomas of Calvert County obligating himself to Charles Gorsuch of Talbot County for 36,000 pounds of tobacco, as security that he will perform his covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, William Gaire, Thomas Biggs.

Deed, July 6, 1680, Miles Gibson, for 7,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Daniel Peverell the 300-acre tract "Hunting Neck" on the east side and at head of Hunting Creek on east side of Bush River, formerly owned by Thomas Cole and William Hollis. Witnesses, George Wells, John Watterton. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that grantor's wife Mrs. Ann Gibson consents, and that grantor acknowledges, before Maj. Thomas Long. Interpolated entry that on April 1, 1681, James Thompson, sub-sheriff, has received from Peverell full satisfaction.

Deed, July 5, 1680, Rowland Thornburgh and wife Ann, for 2,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to William Cromwell the 100-acre tract "Davids Fancy" at Howard's Branch at the Middle Branch on north side of Patapsco River, adjoining David Poole's land. Witnesses, Robert Benger, Thomas Jame. Wife Ann consents before Thomas Long. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that Thornburgh acknowledges before Col. George Wells and Maj. Thomas Long, commissioners.

Deed, May 6, 1680, Maj. Thomas Long and wife Jane of Back River, for 4,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Gibson of Charles County 200 acres of the 450-acre tract "—weeke" on Middle River as patented to Long. Witnesses, Jacob Jenifer, William Cromwell. Wife Jane consents July 5 before Mr. John Boring. Long acknowledges before John Watterton and John Boring.

Deed, April 19, 1680, George Holland, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, conveying to Michael Judd and wife Jane the 300-acre tract "Colletts Neglect" on the north side of Gunpowder River, adjoining the tract "the united Friendshipp" laid out for Edward Reeves and Lodowick Williams. Witnesses, John Tillyard, James Mills.

Letter of attorney, April 19, 1680, George Holland appointing Mr. Jacob Jenifer his attorney to acknowledge and record a deed. Witnesses, John Tillyard, James Mills. Clark Thomas Hedge certifies that Jenifer as attorney acknowledges on July 6 before Col. George Wells and Maj. Thomas Long.

Deed, October 28, 1680, Charles Gorsuch conveying to Jonas Boen 160 acres of the tract "Willen" at the head of Bear Creek on north side of Patapsco River, laid out for Gorsuch and adjoining to land formerly laid out for Phillip Thomas, late of Anne Arundel County. Witnesses, Miles Gibson, Francis Lovelace, Lewis Barton.

Letter of attorney, October 28, 1680, Charles and Sarah Gorsuch appointing Miles Gibson or James Phillips to acknowledge sale of 160 acres to Jonas Boen. Witnesses, Francis Lovelace, Lewis Barton. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that on November 2 Gibson as attorney acknowledges before Col. George Wells and Maj. Thomas Long, commissioners.

The closing entries of the former Liber I C No. A are now on pages 58 to 62 of the present Liber I S No. I K, having been transcribed from the original record, no longer existent.

Bond and mortgage, April 8, 1675, Lodwick Williams, planter, as security for payment by October 10 next of 1,439 pounds of tobacco, pledging to Mr. Samuel Boston, high sheriff, the 200-acre tract "Williams Ridge" at the head of Bough Creek on south side of Bush River, adjacent to Williams's dwelling plantation. Witnesses, M. Stykellkamp, William Osboarn. Clerk Thomas Hedge certifies that William Osborne acknowledges witnessing execution.

Clerk's minute, undated, that William Osborn makes oath that he witnessed a mortgage and saw Lodwick Williams execute same to Capt. Samuel Boston, high sheriff.

Letter of attorney, December 9, 1679, Charles and Sarah Gorsuch appointing "Cozen Miles Gibson" their attorney to acknowledge their sale of 1,200 acres by deed of December 8, 1679, to "our brother" David Jones; also to receive from David Jones and wife Ann acknowledgment of their deed for 380 acres. Witnesses, Rowland Thornburg, Thomas Stone.

Letter of attorney, December 9, 1679, Ann Jones appointing "my son" Miles Gibson her attorney to acknowledge sale of 380 acres to "my brother" Charles Gorsuch. Witnesses, Rowland Thornburg, Thomas Stone.

Bond, December 8, 1679, Charles Gorsuch of Talbot County obligating himself to David Jones for 40,000 pounds of tobacco as security that he will fulfill the covenants of an indenture of same date with Jones. Witnesses, Rowland Thornburgh, Thomas Stone.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Information wanted concerning Alexander Armstrong and his wife Rachel, who lived at Port Gibson, Claiborne county, Miss. He was an Elder in the Presbyterian Church and died in 1834.

Mrs. Annie Armstrong Dollerhide,
Oak Grove, West Carroll Parish, Louisiana.

Wanted: The date and place of birth and date and place of death of David C. Roscoe who taught book-keeping in Hagerstown, Md., between 1818 and 1831 and who was a member of the 1st regiment Maryland Militia between Aug. 24, 1814 and Oct. 13, 1814. He was the author of "A New and Compendious System of Book-keeping by Double Entry . . ."

Ruth S. Leonard,
921 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

Taney and Allied Families. Compiled and privately printed for Katharine T. Silverson. New York, 1935.

The Society is under obligations to the author for this sumptuous work, which is a beautiful specimen of the publisher's art, and especially as it is one of a very small edition of which but few copies will be distributed. As far as we know, it is the only genealogy of the Taney family yet published, and it appears to be well done. Among the allied families included are the Silverson, Grubb, Keedy, Funk, Cheney, Bond, Porter, McBride, Toms, Lyon, Sollers, Partridge, Brooke, Boarman, Jarboe, Hutchins, Marsham, Neale, Doyne and Huntingdon.

Information wanted concerning Evan Hughes and wife, Elizabeth Roberts Hughes of Baltimore or Howard counties; and of Hugh Wharry or Wheary and wife Sarah Gorsuch Wharry of same counties; and of wife of Nehemiah Moxley of A. A. Co.; also Thomas Moxley.

Mrs. Roger Williams,
3445 Mt. Pleasant St., Washington, D. C.

SPECIAL EXHIBIT.

The Maryland Historical Society calls the attention of its members to the special exhibit which has been arranged from September 3rd to October 3rd.

On account of the opening of the new 5th Regiment Armory on September 13th and 14th, and the celebration of the 121st anniversary of the writing of the "Star Spangled Banner," the Society is fortunate in having a wealth of material connected with the British invasion of 1813 and 1814. It has arranged on exhibit the first newspaper publication of the "Star Spangled Banner"; the first copy of the words set to music, published in Baltimore in 1814, only three copies of which are known to exist; many letters of Francis Scott Key; rare prints; maps; banners; swords and other mementoes of the

Battle of North Point, the Bombardment of Fort McHenry, the burning of Havre de Grace; Georgetown and Fredericktown in Kent and Cecil Counties; the Battle of Caulk's Field; the attack on Queenstown and on St. Michael's; the landing of the British at Benedict and the march to Bladensburg; and the burning of Washington.

As a special exhibit the descendants of Commodore John Rodgers have loaned the Maryland Historical Society a large part of the original set of solid silver presented to Commodore John Rodgers in 1814 by the Citizens of Baltimore "in testimony of their high sense of the important aid afforded by him in the defense of Baltimore on the 12th and 13th of September 1814."

In addition, portraits by Gilbert Stuart, Jarvis and Siebert have been loaned by his descendants and various sets of silver, swords, decorations and mementoes of this notable Maryland family assembled for this occasion.

Through the courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, the Peabody Institute, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, the Remington Rand Co., cases have been loaned to the Society, in which these exhibits have been placed.

As it is a temporary exhibit it is hoped that members of the Society will avail themselves of the opportunity of inspecting this most remarkable collection.

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIFE MEMBERSHIPS.

(Life Memberships go to Endowment Fund.)

Jane James Cook, for current expenses of rehabilitation,	$1,000
Mary Parkhurst Hayden, bequest.	400
National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots for mounting and binding Williams Papers, . .	177
For mounting and binding Carroll Papers, . .	620
Mrs. D'Arcy Paul, for repair and restoration of maps,	200
Benjamin H. Griswold, Jr. Purchase of Paca Co. broadsides, ...	30
Mrs. Nannie Ball Nimmo, for binding Debt Book of 1750, ...	5
William Woodward, Life membership	100
Miss Ida Bell Gaither, ...	100

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BALTIMORE

THE ENDOWMENT FUND.

The attention of members of the Society is again called to the urgent need for an adequate endowment fund. Our possessions are wonderful, but lack of means has prevented their proper exploitation, so that they are largely inaccessible to students. Rare items of Maryland interest frequently escape us because no funds are available for their purchase. A largely increased sustaining membership will help somewhat, but an endowment is a fundamental need. Legacies are of course welcomed, but present-day subscriptions will bring immediate results. SUBSCRIBE NOW!

FORM OF BEQUEST

"I give and bequeath to The Maryland Historical Society the sum of_____dollars"

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND

Edited by J. Hall Pleasants, M. D.

Published by authority of the State

VOLUME LI

Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of Maryland, 1669-1679.

(Court Series 5)

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THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR IN MARYLAND 1753 TO 1756.

PAUL H. GIDDENS
ALLEGHENY COLLEGE

Between 1690 and 1763 Great Britain engaged in four struggles with her great rival, France, for the supremacy of trade and dominion of the New World. The first three conflicts ended without settling the important issues at stake in North America, of which the most outstanding was the domination of the West. The French claimed, under the treaties of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle, all the territory drained by the Ohio and its tributaries. Under the sea-to-sea charters the English claimed the same region. From the French point of view, the Ohio valley was an essential link between the colonies on the St. Lawrence and those on the Mississippi; the loss of that link would be a serious blow to the integrity of their North American Empire. The English were equally sure that French settlements on the western rivers would block their natural advance from the seaboard. Thus both sides had aggressive plans for expansion. The object of each was to seize desirable territory, re-enforce the hold on trade routes, favorably influence the Indian tribes, extend trade relations, and make treaties with them. All of these things were done with about equal rapidity by both French and English. In 1744 at a great council in Lancaster, the Iroquois granted control of the Ohio country north of the river to the English. Five years later the

Crown, in order to thwart the designs of the French, granted a half million acres of land on the Ohio to the Ohio Company for the purposes of trade and colonization. Moreover, by 1750 English traders and settlers in large numbers were pouring over the Alleghenies in search of new fields to exploit. It was estimated in 1748 that during a single season three hundred British traders made their way into the Ohio Valley. Meanwhile the French were busy throwing a cordon of forts around the English colonies. In 1749 the French Governor sent Céléron de Bienville to take possession of the Ohio points, discover the temper of the Indians, and drive out the British traders. Céléron made the trip, buried lead plates setting forth French title to the region, and took formal possession of the country. But his warnings had no deterring effect upon the British traders, and in 1752 the French established armed posts at Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango. Quickly the forces were gathering in the wilderness along the frontier, as well as in Europe, for a more decisive struggle than any which had preceded.

Governor Horatio Sharpe's tenure of office coincided with the very opening and progress of the last Anglo-French contest for colonial supremacy. Just three months after his arrival in Maryland came a warning word from London to all the colonial Governors to beware of an expected attack upon the King's dominions by a large party of hostile Indians led by some regular French troops.[1] Holdernesse, Secretary of State, instructed the Governors that if English territory was violated, force should meet force, but under no circumstances were they to make the King appear as the aggressor. If invasion came, the legislatures were to be hurriedly convened and strongly urged to grant generously both men and supplies for mutual assistance. Sharpe presented this letter to the Maryland Assembly on November 5, 1753, and asked for a revival of the law of 1704 levying a duty of 3d. per hogshead on all tobacco exported for the purchase of

[1] Horatio Sharpe, *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe* (Archives of Maryland), William Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 3-4. (Hereinafter referred to as *Sharpe Cor.*)

arms and ammunition without which Maryland would be unable to assist her neighbors in this hour of danger. The Assembly was not impressed with the impending danger and informed Sharpe that "We shall cheerfully contribute as far as we are able, towards defending them against the Attacks of their Enemies: But as there does not appear, at present, to be any pressing Occasion for imposing a Tax upon the People for these Purposes, we hope, that our Unwillingness to do it at this Time, will be rather ascribed to the real Motive of our Conduct, a prudent Care of and Regard to, the Interest of our Constituents, than any Disinclination to the Service recommended."[2] The law of 1704 was not revived.

While the Maryland Assembly sat in session and denied danger, young Washington was sent by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to the Ohio country to inquire of the French on what ground and by what authority they dared to enter on English soil. Washington's order to the invaders to withdraw met a flat refusal and thus began the last and greatest struggle of the French and English for the possession of the vast Mississippi Valley region. Dinwiddie took prompt measures to eject the French invaders and in January, 1754, called upon the neighboring troops for aid in organizing an expedition against the enemy.[3] Provincial troops were asked to assemble early in March at Wills Creek, the rendezvous, and thence proceed westward under the Virginia commanding officer. In response, Sharpe summoned the Assembly and on February 26, presented Dinwiddie's call for aid, also an order from the Board of Trade to send commissioners to Albany for an Indian conference in June. "Your results on these several Letters," Sharpe said to the Assembly, "I have the most sanguine Hopes, will give the strongest Testimony of your Zeal for his Majesty's Service, and demonstrate you to be truly Guardians of the Interest, Safety,

[2] *Votes and Proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly of the Province of Maryland*, November, 1753, pp. 50, 73. (Hereinafter referred to as *Votes and Pro. L. H.*)

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 33.

and Honour of your Constituents." [4] His appeal for loyal action met only a week of debate and discussion. It did not appear to the lower house that "any Invasion or hostile Attempt has been made against this or any other of his Majesty's Colonies" and that it was necessary "to make any Provision for an armed Force, which must inevitably load us with great Expence, and which cannot, as we conceive, under the Restrictions of the Royal Order, signified by the Earl of Holdernesse's Letter to your Excellency, effectually Co-operate, except in Case of an Invasion, with that of any other Colony." [5] In other words, the Assembly pleaded the danger of expense; the members held there was no evidence of actual invasion. Pennsylvania likewise refused to aid Virginia for the same reason. The Maryland Assembly now took an attitude which it followed throughout the entire war. Sharpe tried hard to persuade the legislature that the activities of the French in the Ohio country were flagrant acts of hostility, but in vain. The Assembly, in an address to Sharpe prepared by Mathew Tilghman, Henry Hall, Dr. Charles Carroll, and Dr. Alexander Hamilton contended that Virginia was not in need of assistance and a second time refused to respond to the distress call.[6] Disappointed, Sharpe prorogued the Assembly without obtaining a penny either to help Virginia or send commissioners to the Albany conference. For the latter end, the lower house readily voted £500 to be raised by appropriating money arising from licenses granted to hawkers, peddlers, and ordinary keepers as well as fines and forfeitures.[7] Lord Baltimore claimed the right to all such monies and the upper house refused to approve the bill. "I am thoroughly convinc'd of your assiduous endeavors with your People," Dinwiddie wrote to Sharpe in consoling him over the barren results of his meeting with the Maryland Assembly, "but there is no resisting an ill-founded Prejudice: if they wou'd look forward & consider the dismal Consequences that

[4] *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, February, 1754, p. 2; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 38.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[6] *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, March, 1754, pp. 9-21.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

must follow the Settlem of the French so near our Frontiers, they certainly wou'd chearfully assist with a proper Supply; as it's easier to prevent their settling, than dislodge them when settled; besides they ought to shew themselves good Subjects in complying with his Majesty's Commands for a mutual Supply." [8]

The controversy over the right to the money arising from licenses granted to hawkers, peddlers, and ordinary keepers as well as fines and forfeitures was a revival of an old quarrel.[9] According to an act of 1678, every ordinary keeper was required to purchase an annual license and the lord proprietor received the revenue. Until 1689, Lord Baltimore gave the proceeds to his secretary, but after the establishment of royal government, the lower house contended all such monies belonged to the public and should be used only for such purposes as the Assembly directed. After the restoration of Maryland to proprietary government, Lord Baltimore gave the money to his two secretaries, and then asked the Assembly to approve the appropriation. At first it refused to do anything of the kind, but finally agreed to give the money to the proprietor in grateful acknowledgment of his service to the Protestants. The law continued in force until 1739 when it failed of renewal. From 1740 to 1754 the money was appropriated to redeem bills of credit issued during the third intercolonial war. But the new proprietor, Frederick, claimed such appropriations as violations of his property rights and instructed Sharpe to pass no such acts for the future. Under the conditions a clash was inevitable and the difference assumed an unfortunate form during the fourth intercolonial war. The lower house took the attitude of stubbornly maintaining the popular rights regardless of the consequences. The proprietor, firm in the legality of his position, avowed that his subjects had no rights except those bestowed by him. Irreconcilable were the two positions. A similar controversy existed over the right

[8] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 42.

[9] Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, New York, 1901, pp. 353-361.

to money arising from fines and forfeitures. Until 1739 fines and forfeitures on almost every breach of the penal laws went to the proprietor and no account rendered the public. The lower house after 1739 insisted upon the money being used for the support of the government. Compromise upon this disputed point was also impossible. As for the money arising from licenses issued to hawkers and peddlers, the proprietor stoutly opposed its appropriation to public use. With the lower house constantly insisting upon appropriating the funds from these different sources to such uses as it directed and the proprietor equally determined not to yield, legislative deadlocks ensued and prevented Maryland from participating in the fourth intercolonial war.

While the Maryland legislature sat in an attitude of indifference, North Carolina voted £12,000 proclamation money and Virginia appropriated £10,000 to drive back the invaders.[10] Late in 1753 the energetic Dinwiddie sent Colonel Trent with a small detachment to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio, but Trent's little party had to yield to a superior French force, which proceeded to establish Fort Duquesne. Sharpe again called the Assembly in the hope that Trent's withdrawal, Dinwiddie's repeated solicitations, the generous supplies granted by Virginia and North Carolina, and the general feeling of alarm would be sufficient to cause the Assembly to grant men and money.[11] A grant of £3,000 was made, but the bill was loaded with obnoxious clauses appropriating the money from licenses of hawkers and peddlers which killed its passage.[12] Sharpe summed up the situation in these words to Secretary Calvert, "You will see that I am reduced to great Streights, by the People's determined Resolution to make his Majesty's Service and His Ldp's Interest clash if by any means it can be so brought about. . . ."[13] Assemblymen were so indifferent and perverse

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 42.
[11] *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, May, 1754, pp. 2-3.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 21-25, 40.
[13] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 62.

to the apparent crisis that all they did, according to Sharpe, was to consider how to save their faces and yet seem disposed to encourage sending an expedition westward.[14] The Assembly appropriated £500, however, to buy a present for the Indians and £150 for sending two commissioners to Albany.[15] Immediately, Benjamin Tasker, Jr., and Major Abraham Barnes, the commissioners appointed, prepared to leave for New York.

Sharpe attributed the continued obstinacy of the Assembly to two factors. One was the approach of a new election which had no little influence upon the conduct of the delegates. He said, "It is too notorious that They always shew greater Backwardness in every last session to do any thing generous, lest it should induce their Electors to reject them when they offer themselves Candidates at the ensuing Election." [16] The other was the fact that "our people could not as yet see things in their proper light & seemed to think the Occasion of the present Dispute was who should possess Lands the Lord knows where by the Determination of which they would reap no Benefit seeing the lands were already granted by his Majesty to the Ohio Company." [17] With a definite western boundary and no opportunity to acquire territory as a result of war, Maryland refused to tax herself for the benefit of Virginia and the Ohio Company. Nor did Pennsylvania, with a fairly definite western boundary, come to the aid of Virginia and a company which had been organized in a large part to obtain a share in the Ohio Indian trade then monopolized by the Pennsylvania traders.

While the Maryland Assembly wrangled, the main body of Virginians under Washington moved on to recover the ground lost by Trent only to be defeated at Great Meadows by a stronger French force from Fort Duquesne. As the colonials withdrew from the Ohio Valley, the French were left in supreme control. Once more Dinwiddie called upon Maryland to aid the Virginia forces move against the French before winter set in. He made it clear that Virginia would probably not raise any more troops

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 68.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 70.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 197-198.

unless Maryland showed a disposition to lend a hand. The Virginia governor hoped Sharpe would send one hundred men to join the forces under Colonel James Innes and march against Fort Duquesne or else build a fort on Red Stone Creek or some other point.[18] With whatever troops remained, Dinwiddie suggested that Sharpe construct a magazine near Wills Creek large enough for fifteen hundred men and build a road from Rock Creek to that place.

Under these circumstances Governor Sharpe did not hesitate to meet the Assembly on July 17, and in a passionate appeal declared, "The Designs of the French must now be evident to every one: They have openly, in Violation of all Treaties, invaded his Majesty's Territories, and committed most violent Acts of Hostility, by attacking and intirely defeating the Virginia Troops under Col. Washington. In this Emergency, the Hopes and Expectations of our neighbors, whom, in Duty, Honour, and Interest, we are engaged to support and defend, are fixed upon us for Assistance; and what must the World think of our Conduct, or what Calamities may we not expect, if, from an unreasonable Parsimony, we coldly look on, while they are cut to Pieces? The boundless Ambition of the Common Enemy, and the cruel Rage of their savage Allies, now upon our Borders, flushed with Victory, indispensably require a vigorous and immediate Exertion of all our Powers, to check their Progress."[19] Because frontier inhabitants were "strangely terrified" and talked of deserting their homes, the lower house voted £6,000.[20] Taking advantage of the colony's distress to wrest a concession

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77. Under Colonel Innes were to be the following troops:

Independent Company from South Carolina	100 men
Independent Company from New York	160
Virginia Regiment	300
North Carolina	350
Maryland Company	100
	1,010

[19] *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, July, 1754, p. 2.

[20] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 88, 199; *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, July, 1754, pp. 5-9.

from the proprietor, the delegates included among the means of raising the grant, money arising from licenses on ordinaries, hawkers, and peddlers. The lower house was more concerned in gaining its way against Lord Baltimore than in defending the frontier. While the bill was pending before the upper house, instructions from the proprietor arrived directing Sharpe not to approve any law drawing in question his right to the money arising from licenses on ordinaries, hawkers, and peddlers.[21] Under the pressure of war, however, Sharpe and the upper house yielded and approved the bill. To salve their conscience, the latter argued that the point in dispute had been conceded in times of less imminent danger, that the act would not hinder the proprietor from claiming the revenue at the expiration of the law, and that only one-half the money arising from forfeiture of hawkers and peddlers was appropriated by the bill.

With the passage of the law, Sharpe promptly prepared to aid Virginia.[22] He directed the opening of the road from Rock Creek to Wills Creek; he ordered the militiamen to hold themselves in readiness; he sent ammunition to Frederick; and instructed Colonel Thomas Cresap, who lived on a large plantation about fifteen miles from Wills Creek, to purchase enough meat and flour to last one hundred men a year. Commissions were issued for raising one or two companies and recruiting proceeded briskly, aided by a popular military song especially written for the Maryland independent company. It ran, in part:[23]

Over the Hills with Heart we go,
To fight the proud insulting Foe;
Our Country calls, and we'll obey
Over the Hills, and far Away.

CHORUS:

Over the Mountains' dreary Waste,
To Meet the Enemy we haste,

[21] *Sharpe Co.*, Vol. I, pp. 81, 88, 89, 94, 199; *Proceedings of the Council Maryland* (Archives of Maryland), Willam Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1911, Vol. XXXI, p. 38. (Hereinafter referred to as *Council Pro.*)

[22] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 80, 94, 97, 200.

[23] *Maryland Gazette*, September 19, 1754.

Our King commands and we'll obey
Over the Hills and far away.

No Popery nor Slavery
No arbitrary Pow'r for me.
But Royal George's righteous Cause
The Protestant and British Laws.

. . . . . .

Whoe'er is bold, whoe'er is free
Will join and come along with me;
To drive the French without Delay,
Over the Hills, and far Away.

. . . . . .

On fair Ohio's Banks we Stand
Musket and Bayonet in Hand;
The French are beat, they dare not stay
But trust to their Heels and run away.

On August 15, 1755, the *Maryland Gazette* reported, "We are now every Day raising Recruits to go against the French at the Ohio." By late September, fifty men were ready to march under Captain John Dagworthy of Worcester County.[24]

Now that Maryland was ready to cooperate in a western expedition it was the action of the Virginia legislature which stood in the way. It granted £20,000, but attached an amendment for paying the attorney-general £2,500 toward his expenses to England to complain against Dinwiddie.[25] Although the Assembly tried to take advantage of the frontier's distress to force Dinwiddie's acceptance of an objectionable item, the bill was killed. As a further check to Dinwiddie's plans, all the North Carolina troops had been disbanded due to political mismanagement.[26] The soldiers and officers were so well paid that the £12,000 voted was entirely spent before the troops left the province. Without funds, many of his troops wounded, others unfit, there was naught Dinwiddie could do but abandon the proposed campaign. One can appreciate Dinwiddie's lament. "A Governor in the Discharge of His Duty to his King and Country is

[24] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 94.

[25] Hayes Baker-Crothers, *Virginia and the French and Indian War*, Chicago, 1928, pp. 33-34.

[26] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 94, 96.

much to be pitied, when it's considered his Transactions with an obstinate Assembly; full of their own opinions & entirely deaf to Arguments & reason; I assure I am heartily fatigued & quiet weary with the unjust opposition to every Thing proposed to them for the Gen. Good, & without the Government take some Steps to assist us I fear the Consequence from the undefatigable Motions of the Enemy." [27] In his despair of loyal cooperation from the colonial assemblies, Dinwiddie was driven to the conclusion that Parliament should compel them to grant supplies for defensive purposes. Sharpe wrote home suggesting either a poll tax or stamp tax as one of the best methods of raising funds if Parliament decided to tax the colonies.[28]

Under the circumstances Dinwiddie sent fifty men to join the independent companies from New York and South Carolina at Wills Creek.[29] He directed Colonel Innes to take possession of the Ohio Company's warehouse and use all the men to construct a fort. Dinwiddie ordered the one hundred remaining Virginia troops to patrol the frontier. Recruiting in Maryland stopped and the fifty men already raised were also sent to Wills Creek to discipline themselves and await the spring drive.[30] Nothing more could be done to repel the enemy until a greater number of troops were raised.

Early in July, 1754, Governor Sharpe was commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel of Foot in the West Indies and at the same time was appointed commander-in-chief of all the American forces. A number of influential Englishmen were responsible for the appointment.[31] A Quaker merchant and banker, John Hanbury, who had extensive trade relations with Maryland and Virginia, probably first suggested Sharpe's name. John and

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97, 99. [28] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97. There were 260 men in the independent companies of New York and South Carolina.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[31] *British Transcripts* CO5: 211, p. 105, Library of Congress; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 52; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 72-74, 102-103, 109, 120; A. M. Schlesinger, "Maryland's Share in the Last Intercolonial War," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, Vol. VII, pp. 135-137.

William Sharpe also eagerly sought their brother's appointment. Likewise, Secretary Calvert and Lord Baltimore warmly advocated it. Lord Anson, a Captain Tomlinson, and a Mr. Adair apparently had some connection with the affair, but the exact relation is unknown. The royal commission, carried by Arthur Dobbs, the newly-appointed governor of North Carolina, reached Williamsburg on October 7. As soon as Sharpe learned of Dobbs' arrival, he set out for that city to confer with both Dinwiddie and Dobbs as to the most expedient measures for promoting the public service and spending the £10,000 sent by the King.[32] They decided to raise seven hundred men besides the three independent companies then at Wills Creek and attack Fort Duquesne before winter set in. Once the fort was taken, they would erect another on an island in the Ohio opposite Duquesne. The lack of men precluded any other operations. As it was, Sharpe feared the strength of the enemy in those parts and realized that their superior knowledge of the country, their numerous Indian alliances, and unanimity of opinion among the French gave tremendous advantages to the enemy. Despite the odds, there was hope, for Virginia now voted £20,000 gold currency and New York £5,000.[33] These appropriations plus the £10,000 brought by Dobbs would provide for the seven hundred men.

With a real sense of responsibility of the important task facing him, Sharpe returned to Annapolis and began active preparations for executing the plan of operations.[34] Letters were dispatched to Governors Morris, Shirley, Belcher, and De Lancey informing them of the campaign and asking for generous support; inquiry about the number of the enemy at Venango and at a fort on Buffalo River was made; he also inquired whether there was a good road to either of these forts through the back settlements of Pennsylvania; and Captain Dagworthy of the Maryland independent company was ordered to resume recruiting. Those Germans capable of bearing arms were encouraged

[32] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, 103-105.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 104.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 121-124.

to enlist, but whatever courage or military skill they possessed quickly vanished and none volunteered. A full Maryland company, however, was recruited and encamped at Wills Creek by the middle of November, 1755.[35]

Dinwiddie also put a considerable number of recruiting officers into the field, but doubted their ability to enlist many men. In December, he sent forty-four men to Alexandria and one hundred and fifty to Fredericksburg. By the first of the year, the Virginia forces numbered about five hundred and Dinwiddie had hopes of raising the total to eight hundred.[36] For twelve months Governor Belcher had been urging the New Jersey Assembly "in the most pungent manner" to do something. It finally granted £6,000, but the bill had to be sent to England for approval which occasioned delay.[37] Morris of Pennsylvania could not promise any aid because of differences between the chief executive and Assembly over issuing paper money; Massachusetts and New York were too busy putting their own frontiers in a state of defense; South Carolina was slow to act; and nothing was expected from North Carolina. Even though Virginia and Maryland might loyally respond, Sharpe did not hope "with such parcimonious Supplies as these to be able to execute the Commission I am honoured with with any great Eclat. . . ."[38]

About the middle of November, Sharpe set out for Wills Creek to see if conditions warranted an immediate advance against Fort Duquesne; his hopes were shattered. He found an exceedingly small stockaded fort, not over one hundred and twenty feet on its exterior side.[39] Furthermore, it was not strategically located; a high hill overlooked the fort and it was possible for the enemy to fire directly into the center. Sharpe immediately ordered the Maryland company to build a larger stockade upon more elevated ground, leaving the first one to be used as a warehouse.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 116.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 147.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 136, 142.

Encamped at Wills Creek were over three hundred men.[40] The Maryland company was incomplete and undisciplined, yet equal to any there. There were one hundred and twenty " discontented, unruly & mutinous " men from Virginia. The three independent companies from South Carolina and New York fell far short of Sharpe's expectations. They were in such poor condition that St. Clair, Braddock's quartermaster, later discharged forty as unfit for service. The situation was aggravated by much ill-feeling among all the officers. " The officers who bore his Majesty's Commission," declared Sharpe, " would not deign to rank with those who served under his Governor's Commissions . . . Such Jealousies & Enemities subsisted between the Officers of the Carolina Independants & the Virg. Regiment that their Meeting would have been attended with innumerable Mischiefs & Confusion, perhaps the greater the Number of such Troops as these the greater had been the Danger of a Miscarriage had I ventured to make an Attempt." [41] Vain were Sharpe's efforts to persuade them to agree.

Sharpe was startled when he discovered no more provisions in the fort than would supply the troops for one day. Fortunately, Colonel Cresap had laid in 29,138 pounds of pork and 14,197 pounds of beef more than necessary to supply the Maryland company, so Sharpe ordered these supplies turned over to the forces at Wills Creek.[42] The lack of salt and receptacles for curing meat held up killing the cattle purchased and driven to the fort. They were allowed to range in the woods, which necessitated hiring herdsmen and increased expenses. Sharpe instructed Dinwiddie to procure salt, casks, and barrels and send them instantly to the base of operations. He also purchased teams and wagons to transport foodstuffs, arms, ammunitions, and other warlike stores to the fort.

Public credit had sunk to a very low ebb " by the Inability or negligence of the Chief Commisary of Stores & a parcel of Dirty

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142, 168, 173, 229.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 174, 229.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 144, 149-150, 155, 200.

Fellows that being employed as his Deputies had contracted Debts with the Country people for a thousand pounds & upwards without making any payments." [43] Instead of paying off the creditors, one of the Virginia agents, Gist, had used the money to purchase goods with which to trade on his own account. Dinwiddie was greatly shocked to learn of the corruption since every demand brought in against the public had been paid.

Experience indicated that the colonies were not equipped to wage war on any considerable scale. Operating against an enemy far removed required moving troops and stores away from a settled base through mountains and forests unbroken without roads. The colonies were totally unprepared for the task because for years there had been no pressure on the frontier. They lacked an organized militia, a dependable transport service, an efficient commissary, and munitions of war. Moreover, the spirit of service was low, legislatures were reluctant to vote money, people were slow to enlist, and petty jealousies existed among the officers. Indeed, the colonies labored under severe handicaps.

Conditions at Wills Creek convinced Sharpe that the troops could never be well provisioned and equipped unless a systematic plan was adopted. He outlined to Dinwiddie a more efficient scheme for managing the commissary department.[44] A commissary of reputation, fortune, and ability must be appointed and assisted by a deputy and clerk. Contracting for provisions should be entrusted to the commissary. The deputy should always be stationed at the base of operations to receive, cure, and deliver provisions as well as keep the books. He should know about the contracts made and notify the commanding officer in case of failure to comply with the terms. Whenever the troops left Wills Creek the deputy should follow along and issue provisions. Dinwiddie accepted the plan and proceeded to appoint a commissary, Charles Dick, and a deputy, Thomas Walker,

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140, 144, 150, 201, 226.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137, 143, 149.

both men of wealth. The adoption of Sharpe's ideas made possible the gradual accumulation of stores which ultimately proved immensely valuable to Braddock.

Sharpe hurriedly returned home to meet an Assembly newly-elected but not entirely new in personnel. Thirty-eight out of a membership of fifty-eight had served in the preceding Assembly which augured little change in attitude. The governor, in his message of December 12, tried to impress the Assembly with the progress of the French power in gaining control of the Ohio Valley, in securing the fur trade, in depopulating the colonies and terrifying the settlers. He hoped that their pride in having the governor of the colony distinguished with the chief command over the American forces would lead to generous grants. "And, Gentlemen," concluded the chief executive, "as my future Reputation will, in a great Measure, depend on the Issue of this Meeting, I cannot help again repeating my Hopes, that your Resolves will be such, as must demand my Acknowledgements, and make it my future constant study to express my Gratitude, by my Endeavors to promote, to the utmost of my Ability, the Welfare and Prosperity of the People you are here to represent." [45] The lower house assured Sharpe that it would promptly grant supplies "as far as our Circumstances will admit" and five days later voted £7,000, of which £4,000 was to be an issue of paper money redeemable in money derived from hawkers, peddlers, and ordinary licenses.[46] Sharpe refused his assent to the bill and when the house, to his surprise, asked to be prorogued, he assented. Neither a sense of pride nor a sense of danger moved the Assembly; the determination to vote money on its own terms was uppermost. Two external factors helped to mold the refractory attitude. When it was learned that English troops were coming to the defense of the colonies the news did not hearten the Assembly to exert itself, but rather wait upon English support.[47] And there was the

[45] *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, December, 1754, pp. 2-3.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12, 17, 18-19; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 148, 158, 162.
[47] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 229.

poor example of Pennsylvania where the struggle over issuing paper currency ended in a deadlock between the Assembly and Governor. Sharpe felt certain that the conduct of Pennsylvania "whose Assembly was then & had been some time sitting influenced but too much I doubt their minds & Behavior & made them averse . . . to granting any further Supplies, unless by an addition to the paper Cash already circulating in this Government, to which Scheme as it evidently appeared pregnant with many Evils & much Detriment to the province in general the Upper House of Assembly refused their concurrence." [48]

Sharpe in deep regret and bitter chagrin was forced to abandon his campaign. The odds were tremendously against him; the want of aid from the colonies, including his own province, the deplorable conditions at Wills Creek, and the news that twelve hundred additional French and Indians had arrived at Fort Duquesne in December shattered his plans.[49] "Since my Appointment to the Command of the American Forces," Sharpe wrote to his brother, "I don't doubt but every Body on your Side the Atlantick have been in constant Expectations of hearing of some Exploit in America in Consequence of his Majesty's honouring me with such a Commission." [50] But the reasons for his inability to win a brilliant victory are clear. And as for Maryland, Sharpe said, "His Majesty's & the Proprietary's Interest & Instructions must be made to clash & no money is to be raised unless his Lordship's private Claims be made submit to the Demands & Caprice of an infatuated Assembly." [51]

Early in January, 1755, Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State, informed Sharpe that a "General Officer of Rank & Capacity" had been appointed his successor. England realized that the task of driving back the French could not be left to the colonies. They had shown themselves uninterested in the West and the pressure on the frontier was not yet great enough to make them act. Such a situation awakened the home authorities to the importance of helping the colonists assert the right of

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 164, 174.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 173.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

Great Britain in the West. The net result was the shipment to Virginia of £10,000, two thousand stands of arms, two British regiments of five hundred each, and the appointment of General Edward Braddock as commander-in-chief of the American forces.

In his short tenure as commander-in-chief, Sharpe served well. He made every possible effort to execute faithfully his commission and capture Fort Duquesne. No one could have been more aggressive or more anxious to drive back the French than Sharpe. It was unfortunate that so many different insurmountable obstacles conspired to prevent his advances upon Duquesne. Most of his time was spent in appealing to the colonies for aid, directing the enlistment of men, reviewing troops, rebuilding the fort at Wills Creek, reorganizing the commissary department, and collecting provisions which later were of inestimable value to General Braddock. Despite all the discouragements, Sharpe rendered distinguished service and exhibited high qualities as a leader and administrator.[52]

Sharpe, as a loyal official, was in no wise cast down by his removal from chief command, but with good will and energy bent himself to the task of making preparations for the day when Braddock and the English troops would arrive. Orders from Sir Thomas Robinson directed him to lay in a quantity of fresh victuals, secure quarters, hire wagons, and furnish transportation for the officers from place to place.[53] These and all other necessaries of a local character were to be paid for out of a common fund to which each colony was expected to contribute. Three thousand men had to be raised in order to augment the British regiments from five hundred to seven hundred and to form a regiment apiece for Shirley and Pepperell. Without delay the Governor undertook to secure more provisions and recruit men.[54] The scattered Virginia forces numbering about

[52] *Maryland Gazette*, December 12, 1754. An officer at Wills Creek said Sharpe was "a very good soldier chearful and free, of good Conduct, and one who won't be trifled with!"

[53] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 107-108.

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 157, 158, 160, 163, 186.

five hundred men were ordered to join the three independent companies and the Maryland company at Wills Creek. On January 13, Sharpe set out for the fort to have the "American Troops a little disciplined," see that provisions were laid in and proper preparations made for the reception of the British regiments as well as the troops recruited from Virginia and Maryland. At Wills Creek, he met General Braddock's deputy quartermaster-general, Sir John St. Clair, who intended to supervise the erection of log houses for quartering the two British regiments, but as the season was so far advanced, he gave up the idea. St. Clair and Sharpe, therefore, started down the Potomac observing as they went whether or not the river would be valuable for transporting artillery and stores to the base of operations. After descending two hundred and fifty miles to Alexandria, they concluded that the many falls and shoals rendered the river route impracticable. On the way down, St. Clair contracted for provisions and forage on both sides the river. From Alexandria, Sharpe set out for Annapolis in order to meet the Assembly which had been summoned to consider Secretary Robinson's request for contributions.

Before taking up Robinson's letter the Assembly reviewed the minutes of the Albany Congress and on "mature Deliberation of the Plan of Union therein mentioned, *Unanimously* disapproved thereof, as manifestly tending to the Destruction of the Rights and Liberties of his Majesty's Subjects within this Province." [55] That matter disposed of, they voted to raise £10,000 for His Majesty's service by the same means as proposed in the previous session. The upper house refused its consent because the issuance of more bills of credit would depreciate the currency, the appropriation of money arising from ordinary licenses would be too heavily mortgaged and the taxation of every English servant in Maryland would discourage the settlement of the back country.[56] At this time the lower house passed a resolution which defiantly declared "That the fines

[55] *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, February, 1755, p. 7.
[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 25-26, 31-32, 43.

arising on Ordinary Licenses are, and always have been, the undoubted right of the Country; that the Lord Proprietary of this Province, by his Prerogative, can have no Right to impose himself any such Fine, Tax, or Duty, imposed by any Law of the Province, which now is or hereafter may expire, without the Consent of the Representatives in General Assembly." [57] In other words, the Assembly was determined to make good a claim that no tax could be levied without its consent. Unless the principle was recognized, they would not grant a penny. After a month of heated controversy, the lower house asked the Governor to prorogue them. Convinced that a great majority of delegates had come with a fixed resolution not to vote any money, save in an unacceptable manner, and that they never would raise any funds without compulsion by Parliament or the appropriation of the ordinary licenses, Sharpe prorogued them.

General Braddock, the new commander-in-chief, arrived in February, 1755, and on March 28, the two British regiments landed at Alexandria. Governors Shirley, DeLancey, Morris, and Sharpe were at once called into conference at Alexandria where Braddock outlined his plan of operations against Fort Duquesne, Fort Niagara, and Crown Point. The governors agreed that upon the capture of Fort Duquesne, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia would bear the expense of maintaining a garrison and if necessary, build a fort on Lake Erie. When Braddock learned that no colony had contributed to the common fund, he was greatly provoked and insisted that the governors once more solicit their Assemblies.[58] Braddock wrote home that " I cannot sufficiently express my indignation against the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, whose interests being alike concerned in this expedition, and much more so than any others on this Continent, refuse to contribute anything towards the profit." [59]

If Braddock had offered him a command, Sharpe would have

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

[58] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 194-195, 203-204.

[59] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, Baltimore, 1879, Vol. I, p. 455.

gladly welcomed the chance to join the expedition against Fort Duquesne. He was disappointed, however, but said, "no Punctillio shall prevent my obeying any Orders he shall be pleased to signify if the least consistent with the Station that I now bear." [60] In case it was necessary to raise a regiment to garrison Fort Duquesne, Sharpe hoped for the command and asked his brother, John, to use his influence to get the appointment. He hoped in vain, for Duquesne was not captured in 1755.

While at Alexandria the governors were informed that the two British regiments should be augmented from five hundred to one thousand men. Officers, therefore, were sent into Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia to recruit, but the inhabitants showed no inclination to enlist and bear arms.[61] Braddock thereupon gave orders to recruit servants and they flocked to join the army. After innumerable petitions for relief had been made by the planters, Sharpe tried to persuade Braddock to revoke the order, but vain were his efforts.[62] "Many of the People's Cases," declared Sharpe, "really called for Pity & Redress as the Planters Fortunes here consist in the number of their Servants (who are purchased at high Rates) much as the Estates of an English Framer do in the Multitude of Cattle." [63] Altogether, Maryland raised one hundred and eighty men and all were drafted into Braddock's regiments, except a company of sixty maintained "for the honor of his Ldp's. province." [64]

On April 9, 1755, Braddock gave orders for the troops to leave Alexandria for Wills Creek. One-half the forces under Sir Peter Halkett marched through Virginia to Winchester and the others under Colonel Thomas Dunbar set out through Maryland. Braddock followed Dunbar's regiment and upon his arrival at Frederick found the troops in want of provisions, horses, and wagons. He was obliged to impress them from the surrounding country and it caused much complaining among the inhabitants of Frederick, Prince George, and Baltimore counties

[60] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 175, 228.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 229.
[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 211.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 211.
[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 189, 194.

because their claims were unpaid.[65] Speaking of Braddock's march through Maryland, Daniel Dulany said, "Many irregularities were committed by the troops in this Province, which nothing can excuse—our people were treated as slaves, and as arrogance unchecked knows no bounds, the military soon silenced the civil power, property became dependent on the moderation of a licentious soldiery triumphing over the sanction of laws, and the authority of magistracy."[66] Despite the lack of foodstuffs and equipment, the troops managed to reach Fort Cumberland by May 20, 1755. Braddock's army resumed its westward march about three weeks later and left fifty-two men under the command of Colonel Innes to garrison Fort Cumberland; only twenty were fit for duty, however.[67] Fifty invalids from the British regiments were also left behind. If the Indians made good a rumor that they expected to fall upon the back settlements as soon as Braddock's troops were far enough advanced, Fort Cumberland would not be strong enough to repel the invaders. Sharpe immediately, by proclamation, warned the people of Baltimore and Frederick counties to arm themselves and be prepared to meet any surprise attacks.[68] Colonels of the militia received orders to muster and discipline their companies at least once every fortnight and be ready to take the field upon hearing of the enemy's approach.

Before Braddock departed from Fort Cumberland, he reminded Sharpe of the governor's agreement to garrison Fort Duquesne upon its capitulation and insisted on having the artillery, ammunition, and stores sent at once under the escort of the militia.[69] Reluctantly Sharpe met the Maryland Assembly on June 23, 1755, and strongly urged the members to grant the supplies requested by Braddock. He also informed the legisla-

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 205, 211, 219.

[66] Daniel Dulany, "Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies in 1755," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. III, pp. 13-14.

[67] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 230, 245.

[68] *Black Book*, Vol. III, Part, I, No. 45, Maryland Historical Society; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 67-68, 73-74.

[69] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 210, 221.

ture that the appropriation made in July, 1754, had been spent and nothing remained with which to pay the Maryland men under Braddock or to compensate the inhabitants whose servants, horses, and wagons had been impressed. Two days later the lower house voted to raise £5,000 by appropriating the money from ordinary licenses and issuing more bills of credit, but the upper house killed the bill.[70] Although its committee on grievances reported that the proprietor had the right to ordinary license money, the lower house conceived it to be "creating a Monopoly, and is contrary to the Rights and Privileges of the good People of this Province, and the Common and Statute Law."[71] The popular branch of the legislature was determined never to recede from its position though the enemy were in the heart of the province and the half of it should be depopulated. "The Representatives for Frederick & Some of the other C on this side of the Bay," asserted Sharpe, "would have gladly done anything to obtain Assistance & protection but as the Gent. whose counties are not so immediately exposed did not so sensibly feel for the Sufferings of the poor people as they would were they less retired from Danger all propositions for an Accommodation were vain & fruitless."[72] During this session the delegates tried to get an agent appointed to carry the dispute to England for a hearing before the King, but the upper house also rejected this proposition.[73] Not only Maryland lawyers entertained different notions as to the proprietor's right to revenues arising from licenses of ordinaries, hawkers, and peddlers, but even members of the upper house wavered in their opinions. Apparently Sharpe was in a quandary too, for he wrote John Sharpe asking his opinion on the controversial point. Once more the perennial dispute blocked an appropriation. No money was granted either for Braddock's use at Fort Duquesne or for the support of the Maryland company with him or for compensating owners of impressed servants, horses, and wagons or for

[70] *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, June, 1755, pp. 2-5, 7, 9.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 29; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 215, 232, 233, 238.
[72] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 241. [73] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

repaying the £100 advanced by Sharpe to the Maryland company with Braddock. Under the circumstances Sharpe wrote Captain Dagworthy advising him to consult with Braddock as to the disposition of the Maryland troops.

Prior to prorogation, the lower house launched a furious attack against Roman Catholics which was occasioned by the appointment of Henry Darnall, the Attorney-General, to the naval office of Patuxent.[74] Both Henry and John Darnall had been educated in a Catholic seminary of Europe, but by taking the various oaths had become eligible for public office. They were now educating their children in foreign Catholic schools which the people resented. The house also complained against the Governor's action in pardoning a Roman Catholic violator of the law. The imaginary fear that Catholics were actually organizing a slave insurrection and conniving with the French for their destruction greatly intensified the Protestant Assembly's feeling against Roman Catholic citizens. In reply to the complaint of the lower house, Sharpe expressed a hope that his pardoning a Catholic did not afford any room to believe partiality had been shown. Then he defiantly asserted, "whatever you or their (constituents) Opinion or Desire may be, with Respect to that Matter I will not suffer the undisputed and undoubted Right of the Supreme Magistrate in this Government, to be invaded or infringed on any Pretence whatever: Therefore, I hope, it will not be taken amiss if I should hereafter exercise the Right of shewing Mercy to such Delinquents as may appear proper Objects, without consulting or advising either you or them."[75] Furthermore, he staunchly defended the Darnalls who had meritoriously executed their offices for many years. Thus, the session ended in an atmosphere charged with bitterness and hostility.

Unable to get a legislative grant, Sharpe sought other means of protecting the western settlers from Indian incursions which

[74] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 240; *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, June, 1755, pp. 16, 17, 20, 21.

[75] *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, June, 1755, pp. 40-41.

were becoming more frequent. He appealed to the public-spirited citizens for subscriptions whereby one hundred to two hundred men could be raised.[76] Some of the Assemblymen violently opposed the procedure and argued that if money should be raised in this method, the people could not expect any future meetings of the Assembly; representative government would be destroyed. "Nothing has been left untried by some of those Patriots," declared the Governor, "to interrupt & prevent the Subscription . . . but I believe notwithstanding their opposition £2,000 will be contributed by the Gent. for the Support of a Company to range on our Frontiers." [77] The *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported on July 24, 1755, that the Marylanders were liberally subscribing to the defense fund, but the sum, raised principally among the merchants, was so small as to be of very little service. In addition to securing subscriptions, Sharpe ordered all the militia officers of Frederick County to meet him in order to work out a plan of defense. "Unless some such step be taken," Sharpe explained to Calvert, "the people will not be persuaded to stay on their plantations being already struck with an universal pannick." [78]

While making these preparations, the news of Braddock's disastrous rout rocked Annapolis and threw the people "into the greatest consternation." Sharpe immediately summoned the Council to consider the situation and dispatched circular letters to different parts of the colony warning the inhabitants against any possible slave or convict uprising.[79] With a number of volunteers the chief executive then set out for the frontier. Thirty miles west of Frederick, Sharpe heard that Colonel Dunbar had decided to abandon Fort Cumberland and take the remainder of the two British regiments and the three independent companies to Philadelphia.[80] The rumor so terrified frontiersmen that they hurriedly retreated to the more populous sections. They realized full well that the withdrawal of troops meant the re-

[76] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 251.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 259.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 241.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 251.
[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 262.

newal of the devastating raids of the enemy; it was better to flee than to yield helplessly to firebrands and tomahawks. Some were persuaded by the Governor to return with assurances that sufficient protection would be provided.

Soon after Sharpe's arrival at Fort Cumberland, Colonel Dunbar received a letter from Dinwiddie strongly urging a counter-attack against the enemy and offering to send four hundred men. A council of war consisting of Colonel Gage, Sir John St. Clair, Governor Sharpe, and Colonel Dunbar was held to consider the proposal and review the situation.[81] Eight or nine hundred stands of arms had fallen into the enemy's hands and an amount equal to £100,000 sterling had been destroyed on Braddock's order, a loss which the colonies could not repair. Wagons had been burnt, horses killed, shells bursted, powder casks thrown into a spring, and provisions scattered abroad on the ground and in the water. "The Soldiers who escaped," observed Sharpe, "are wasted with fatigue & so much dispirited that I question if Orders to march westward would not induce half of them to desert their Colours."[82] The lack of artillery, officers, men, provisions, and funds finally led the council of war to reject Dinwiddie's suggestion. According to Sharpe, Dunbar never consulted the council on the question of withdrawing to Philadelphia and leaving the frontier exposed.

On August 2, Dunbar left Fort Cumberland for Philadelphia, taking not only the two British regiments but also the independent companies from New York and South Carolina. The several companies supported by Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland, a total of three hundred men, were left to garrison the fort under the command of Colonel Innes and, after his departure in October, Captain John Dagworthy. No sooner had Dunbar departed than desertions in the provincial ranks occurred daily. The officers, without power to conduct a court-martial, left the men to desert at will and without hindrances. By the middle of September, scarcely one hundred men out of

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 263-264, 269.

[82] *Ibid.*, pp. 266, 273, 284.

the three hundred remained.[83] The Maryland company, however, lost no more than two men.

Dunbar's withdrawal created intense bitterness of feeling in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, for the inhabitants felt they had been deliberately abandoned to the foe. Throughout the fall and winter the frontier of these colonies was left open to wild Indian raids which generally left a desolate trail of slaughter and devastation. For the better protection of the back settlers, Sharpe used the subscription money to build four small forts, one on Tonallaway Creek and three under North Mountain in the western part of Frederick county. In case of danger, people could take refuge in these posts. Small parties of volunteers from the militia garrisoned them and patrolled continually from one to the other. Despite these heroic efforts, the savage invaders continued their murderous raids. Within a month after Dunbar's departure the country was deserted for thirty miles below Fort Cumberland.[84] Even the people who lived beyond Tonallaway Creek where a stockaded fort had been built, left their plantations. Colonel Cresap moved to Conegocheague and the hospital was removed from Fort Cumberland to Frederick. Every day parties of French and Indians appeared within sight of Fort Cumberland and frequently in greater numbers than that of the garrison. By October 11, approximately one hundred Marylanders had been murdered or carried away prisoners and their plantations ravaged. "All the plantations in this Province (except two or three)," declared Daniel Dulany in December, 1755, "for near one hundred miles to the Eastward of Fort Cumberland have been destroyed, or deserted." [85] Colonel Edward Lloyd wrote to James Hollyday in London, as follows: "We are in a most unhappy Situation here being often alarmed and under apprehension that the French and Indians will penetrate far into our Country. The horrid cruelties that they here acted on some of ours as well as the Virginia and Pennsylvania back inhabitants, is most shocking and

[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 279.

[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 276, 279, 287, 297, 292. [85] Dulany, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

arousing, they impale men and women and even children, and set them up by way of scare crows, and mangle the bodies in the most frightful manner as a terror to others." [86] Joseph Mayhew, writing from Conococheague said, "We are in the greatest Distress here, besides the Danger we are exposed to, and the Shortness of our Crops. We are now full of People, who have been obliged to leave their Plantations, to avoid falling into the Hands of the Savages." [87] The *Maryland Gazette* reported, "Our Accounts from the Westward, are truly alarming: All the Slaughters, Scalpings, Burnings, and every other Barbarity and Mischief, that the mongrel *French,* Indians, or their Chieftain the Devil, can Invent, are often perpetrated there, and approach us nigher and nigher." [88]

Rumors of an impending Indian attack during the fall of 1755 caused the inhabitants of the more settled regions no little anxiety. Early in November, news reached Annapolis that a large party of Indians was within one hundred miles of the colonial capital. An anonymous writer in The *Maryland Gazette* lamented that "every Thing for our Safety and Defence, seems either to be wanting or neglected," and he advised throwing up a rampart about the city, arming the citizens, and placing a number of great guns on carriages. "Some People may *laugh* at this Proposal," he declared, "and think it altogether Silly; but I very much dread that if affairs go on in the indolent Way they have for some Time past, we shall have more occasion for Lamentation than Laughter." [89] No sooner were the entrenchments about the city completed than the rumor was dispelled by the return of several gentlemen who had gone west and saw no Indians in the vicinity. Several militia companies had been summoned to defend Baltimore and if the report had not been contradicted, two thousand men would have soon been mustered. The same week, word reached Bohemia that fifteen

[86] George T. Hollyday, "Biographical Memoirs of James Hollyday," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. VII, p. 432.

[87] *Maryland Gazette*, February 26, 1756.

[88] *Ibid.*, March 4, 1756.

[89] *Ibid.*, November 6, 1755; November 13, 1755.

hundred Indians had burnt Lancaster and were advancing southward.[90] The militia from Cecil, Kent, and Queen Anne counties was quickly summoned. One thousand men from Cecil and Kent county assembled at the head of Elk River and five hundred more were on their way from Queen Anne County when the rumor was reported false. "Hence, 'tis evident," declared the editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* "that the British Courage is no more degenerated in the Southern than in the Northern Colonies." [91]

In view of the distressed situation of the frontier inhabitants, Dinwiddie suggested to Morris and Sharpe the building of a fort beyond the mountains. Unless Pennsylvania made an acceptable grant, Sharpe did not intend to call his Assembly for, as he said, "I am convinced that if the Pensilvanians set an ill one our Assembly will follow their Example." [92] The Quaker Assembly submitted a bill to the Governor to emit £50,000 in bills of credit to be discharged by a tax on all property, real and personal, but Governor Morris would not approve it. Upon hearing of this action, Sharpe remarked, "the Example they have set is too grateful to our Folks for me to give them an Opportunity of pursuing a similar scheme or expressing themselves in such language unless I shall receive more particular Instructions from England, or the Enemy make an attempt on Fort Cumberland." [93] The Council, therefore, advised against summoning the Maryland Assembly. The attitude of the two proprietary provinces forced Dinwiddie to give up building a fort.

Without arms and ammunition or military protection the frontiersmen of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania continued to fly eastward and leave their plantations to be destroyed by Indian savages. The sufferings and hardships might have been less had the proprietor only waived his right to the ordinary licenses and allowed a supply bill to pass. Unfortunately, that consent, which was given as a result of Braddock's defeat, did not reach Sharpe until late in 1755.

[90] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* November 20, 1755.
[91] *Ibid.,* November 20, 1755.
[92] *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. I, p. 269. [93] *Ibid.,* p. 272.

When western settlers were suffering most and needed military protection, a dispute arose over whether Washington or Dagworthy should command at Fort Cumberland.[94] The efficiency of the already too feeble forces was greatly impaired for over three months by pettey bickerings in this critical period. When Colonel Innes left in October, Dagworthy asserted his right of precedence over all other colonial officers and became acting commander. The principal trouble lay in the fact that Dagworthy had only thirty Marylanders under him while Washington had over five hundred Virginians. Should not the one with the larger number of troops be in command? In order to settle the petty squabble, Shirley finally had to intervene. He directed Sharpe to either remove Dagworthy from the post or give him orders to relinquish the position to Washington.

The year 1755 came to a close and as Governor Sharpe reflected upon the record made, he once more noted, "this Year's Experience I flatter myself has demonstrated that the Colonies are not to be depended upon for Assistance & unless the People are obliged by an Act of Parliament to furnish Horses, Waggons & etc. to the utmost of their Power to forward any future Expedition it will be in vain to concert Plans for Conquest or undertake any Enterprise on the Continent of America." [95]

A GAZETTEER OF MARYLAND, A. D. 1673.

By J. Louis Kuethe.

This gazetteer has been compiled from the Maryland portion of Augustine Herrman's [1] map of Virginia and Maryland, published in London in 1673. All names given by Herrman

[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 334-335, 347-349; *Port-folio*, No. 4, Maryland Historical Society.

[95] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 310.

[1] Herrman's name appears on the map three times; twice as "Herrman" and the third time as "Herman."

in what is now Delaware, Pennsylvania from the Mason and Dixon Line to Latitude 40°, and a small portion of the eastern shore of Virginia, are included, for, according to the boundaries shown on the map, these sections were claimed by Maryland at that time.

In spite of the fact that facsimiles of two original copies of this map were used, some names still defy accurate transcription. The two originals are the British Museum copy and the recently discovered one in the John Carter Brown Library. Except in legibility there is little difference between the two. Perhaps the only notable variation is to be found in the panel of the pedestal supporting Herrman's portrait. This panel, blank on the British Museum copy, contains the following inscription on the John Carter Brown Library copy: "Sold by John Seller, Hydrographer to the King at his Shop in Exchange ally in Cornhill. London." This information, although not on the British Museum copy edited by P. Lee Phillips, was supplied by him from an advertisement in "The London Gazette" for 1674.[2] The absence of this information from the British Museum copy would seem to indicate an earlier printing than that of the John Carter Brown Library copy. This assumption is strengthened by the further addition to the latter of a shoal about 16 miles off the mouth of Delaware Bay.

Judging from the facsimiles available, the British Museum is the more legible of the two, as the John Carter Brown Library copy is somewhat faded or rubbed at the folds. The legibility of the British Museum copy seems to be impaired not so much by wear as by the work of the original engraver or printer. Some names are indistinct because of crowded or imperfect letters and in a few cases are partially obscured by shading, figures, or other names.

According to the legend of the map, counties, manors, rivers, creeks, and points are designated by M., R., Cr., and Pt., re-

[2] P. Lee Phillips, The Rare Map of Virginia and Maryland, by Augustine Herrman . . . Washington, 1911. P. 9.

spectively, but there still remain many names which are unclassified. In most cases these names are near creeks, some of which still bear names similar to those given by Herrman. For this reason the information (creek) has been supplied in many cases, although it is possible that in the case of Indian names, the name at that time applied to the Indians of the locality rather than to the creeks.

Although not given in the legend, there is one symbol used in the body of the map which seems to indicate a settlement of some size. Names so designated are Arundelton, Baltemore Towne, Bristol, Cæcilton, Calverton, Darinton, Harvington, Herington, St. Marys, Somerset Town, and Warrington within the present limits of Maryland and New Castle in Delaware. This same symbol also appears on what is now Grove Neck, Cecil County, and again at the mouth of present Worton Creek, Kent County, but without identifying names. Oxford, although shown on Herrman's map, is not accompanied by this symbol.

Herrman's map gives the names of nine counties, but omits several which were erected probably at the time the map was being made; Somerset (1666), Durham (1669), and Worcester (old) (1669). The latter two, however, were never fully organized. Cecil county, although not erected until 1674, is included by Herrman. No county boundaries are shown on this map, but the counties given include the present counties approximately as follows:

Herrman's Map	Present
Anne Arundel C.	Anne Arundel County.
Baltemore County	Baltimore and Harford Counties.
Cæcil C.	Cecil and Kent Counties.
Calvert C.	Calvert County.
Charles C.	Charles and Prince George Counties.
Dorchester C.	Dorchester, Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester Counties.
Kent C.	Kent Island (Queen Anne's County).
St. Marys C.	St. Mary's County.

Talbot C. — Talbot, Queen Anne's County (less Kent Island) and Caroline County.

All references in locating names in the following gazetteer are made with places shown on the present Maryland Geological Survey maps, except in the case of Bohemia M. and Shiles Cr., but the distances are taken from Herrman's map.

The abbreviations of county names in parentheses which follow the names from the map indicate the present counties within whose limits the names are located. The old counties can be determined by referring to the preceding list. Names within the present limits of Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Virginia are followed by the proper abbreviation. Names of creeks or rivers which form present boundaries are followed by the two counties which they divide.

* Indicates names which are, without doubt, early forms of the present names, or are identical with those in use today.

Abington M. (Cal.)—E. side of Patuxent R. 6 miles above Hunting Creek.

Achquank (Cr. ?) (Do.)—W. side of Nanticoke R. 5 miles below Chicono Branch.

Anacostien Ile (D. C.)—Probably present Analostan Island, Potomac River.

Anne Arundel C(ounty)*

Ann Arundel M. (A. A.)—Between Patuxent and West Rivers.

Ann Arundel (River) (A. A.)—*see* Seavorn R.

Anomessik (River) (So.)*—Now Big Annemessex River.

Aquasquit (Pr. G.)—W. side of Patuxent River, 6 miles above Hunting Creek.

Aromaninck (Pa.)—S. side of Schuylkill River, 3 miles from mouth.

Arundelton (A. A.)—Now Annapolis.

Askimimkansen (Wo.)—On eastern headwaters of Pocomoke River.

Assateacq Creek (Wo.)—Now Newport Bay.

Baals Cr. (Balto.)—N. side of Patapsco River, 6 miles from mouth.

Bak R. (Cecil)*—Now Back Creek.

Baltemore County *

Baltemore M. (Cecil)—On present Elk Neck.

Baltemore Towne (Har.)—On east side of Bush River, near mouth.

Bare Pt. (Q. A.)—Probably present Wilmer Neck, Chester River.

Basford M. (St. M.)—E. side of Wicomico River, 5 miles from mouth.

Bauchitinaughton Als Pokquatanguaton * (Wo.)[3] 20 miles north of Swansecut Cr. Note present Brockatonorton Bay in Worcester County.

Beacon Bay (Kent)—Between present Worton Point and Fairlee Creek.

Beacon Cr. (Kent)—Probably present Worton Creek.

Beavedam *sic* (St. M.)—On headwaters of Breton Bay.

Bedor Ils. (Va.)—Off Watkins Point. Possibly present Great and Little Fox Islands.

Bennits Cr. (Kent)—Probably present Lloyd Creek, Sassafras River.

Bennits Cr. (Wi. ?)—Western branch of Pocomoke River, 10 miles above Dividing Creek.

Black Birds Cr. (Del.)*

Bocker (Cecil)—On present Back Creek Neck.

Bohemia M. (Cecil)*

Bomelaer Waerd Ile (Tal.)—*see* Poplar Ile.

Bristol (Chas.)—At the mouth of present Port Tobacco River on east side.

Britton Baye (St. M.)*—Now Breton Bay.

Broad Cr. (Q. A.-Kent I.)*

Bromly M. (St. M.)—On point formed by Wicomico River and St. Clement Bay.

Browning (Cecil)—On south headwaters of present Bohemia River.

[3] Poquede Norton (or Bogettenorten) Hundred in Somerset County, 1666. In Snow Hill Parish, 1692.

Bullenbrocks Cr. (Tal.)*—Now Bolingbroke Creek, Choptank River.
Bush R. (Har.)*
Cæcil C(ounty)*
Cæcil M. (Cecil)—Near present Elkton.
Cæcilton (Cecil)—Near present Town Point.
Calvert C(ounty)*
Calvert M. (Pr. G.)—*see* Mount Calvert.
Calvert Pt. (Tal.)—Now Chancellor Point, Choptank River.
Calverts Cr. (St. M. ?)—Enters Patuxent River from S. W., 8 miles above Point Patience. Possibly present Indian Creek.
Calverton (Cal.)—E. side of Patuxent River, 5 miles below Hallowing Point.
Canoonawengh (Creek) (Cecil)*—Now Conowingo Creek.
Cape Hinlope (Del.)*—Now Cape Henlopen.
Catharin R. (Do.)—*see* Tresquaqin.
Cedar (Point) (St. M.)*
Cedar Ile (Wo.)*
Chaptanck R. (Tal.-Do.)*—Now Choptank River.
Chaptank Ile (Tal.)—Now Tilghman Island.
Chaptico Creek (St. M.)*
Charles C(ounty)*
The Great Bay of Cheseapeake *—Now Chesapeake Bay.
Chester R. (Kent-Q. A.)*
Chicocoan (Creek) (Do.)*—Now Chicono Branch.
Chincomocxen (Creek) (Chas.)*—Now Chicomuxen Creek.
Chingoteacq Ile (Va.)*—Now Chincoteague Island.
Christina Cr. (Cecil & Del.)*—Now Christiana Creek.
Clarks Cr. (Do.)—Branch of Little Choptank River just above Fishing Creek.
Clements Bay (St. M.)*—Now Saint Clement Bay.
The Clifts (Cal.)*—Now Calvert Clifts.
The Coave (Cal.)—Near present Cove Point.
Co—— Ile (Pa.)—Near mouth of present Cobbs Creek.
Collets Neck (Har.)—Point formed by branching of Bush river, 7 miles from mouth.

Collis (Har.)—W. side of Bush River, 3 miles from mouth.

Conquest Point (Har.)—Now Concord Point at Havre de Grace.

Cooks Pt. (Do.)*

Coppahan (Pr. G.)—On point formed by two main branches of Patuxent River.

Cosinabint Cr. Als Lands Cr. (Cal.)—E. side of Patuxent River, 4 miles below Lyon Creek.

Coursy's Cr. (Q. A.)*—Now Corsica River.

Coursy Cr. (Q. A.)—Branch of Wye River. Possibly Back Wye River.

Coursy's Lords Gift (Q. A.)—Covers large part of present Queenstown District.

Crain Hock (Del.)—At mouth of Christiana Creek.

Cros M. (St. M.)—Four miles S. E. from St. Mary's.

Damnd Quarter (So.)*—Now Dames Quarter.

Darinton (Balto.)—Near present Sparrows Point.

Deep Cr. (Har.)—Branch of Gunpowder River, 4 miles from mouth on north side.

Delawar Bay (Del.)*

dHinyossaes Ile (Pa.)[4]—Delaware River, 24 miles above Schuylkill River.

Dividing Cr. (So.-Wo.)*

Dividing Creek (Tal.)*

Dod (Balto.)—On present North Point.

Dods P. (Do.)—Possibly present Todd Pt., Choptank River.

Dorchester C(ounty)*

Duck Cr. (Del.)*

Elck (River) (Cecil)*—(Elk).

Elck Cr. (Har.)—North branch of Gunpowder River, 5 miles from mouth.

Elkinhead M. (Cal.)—On S. E. tip of Calvert County peninsula.

Fænwicx M. (St. M.)—On Patuxent River, 8 miles above Point Patience.

[4] Alexander D'Hinojosa, last Dutch governor of Delaware, c. 1664.

Falls (Of Schuylkill River) (Pa.)—Five miles from mouth of river.

Farlo Creek (Kent)*—Now Fairlee Creek.

Fishers Ile (Pa.)—Off mouth of Schuylkill River.

Fishing Cr. (Do.)*—Branch of Little Choptank River.

Fosters Creek (Har.)*—Branch of Gunpowder River. Nearer mouth of river than present Foster Branch.

Gerins Cr. (Do.)—Possibly present Gaines Creek, Little Choptank River.

Greasin Cr. (Kent)*—Now Grays Inn Creek, Chester River.

Great Manaye (So.)*—Now Monie Bay and Creek.

Grove (Cecil)*—On present Grove Neck.

Gunpowder R. (Balto.-Har.)*

Halfe Way Cr. (Del.)—Probably Delaware end of Chesapeake & Delaware Canal.

Halling Pt. (Cal.)*—Now Hallowing Point, Patuxent River.

Hallis Pt. (Wi.)—Point in Nanticoke River, 5 miles above Quantico Creek.

Hamettan Cr. (Tal.)—Branch of present Miles River, south side.

Harbarous Cr. (Tal.)—Branch of present Miles River, south side.

Harvington (St. M.)—Near present Town Point (Patuxent River).

Hattarisit (Pr. G.)—On western headwaters of Patuxent River.

Hatton (Cecil)—Near present Knight Island.

Heringe Cr. (A. A.)*—Now Herring Bay.

Herington (A. A. ?)—South side of Herring Bay.

Herrises (Creek) (Tal.)*—probably present Harris Creek, Choptank River.

Hieroms (St. M.)—Note present St. Jerome Creek and Point at this place.

Hockston (Cecil)—Near present Knight Island.

Hogh Ile (Pa.)—In Delaware River, 7 miles above the Schuylkill River.

Horn Bay (Do.)*—Probably between present Horn Point and Hambrook Bar, Choptank River.

Howels Pt. (Kent)*—Now Howell Point.

Hudsons (Creek) (Do.)*—Branch of Little Choptank River.

Huntinge Cr. (Cal.)*—Branch of Patuxent River. (Hunting Creek.)

Huntinge C. (Har.)—N. side of Bush River, 6 miles from mouth.

Huppers Ile (Balto.)—Probably includes present Hart and Millers Islands.

Ile C(reek) (Tal.)*—Now Island Creek, Choptank River.

Indian Towns (Do.)—On Choptank River, 5 miles east of present Cambridge.

Inego M. (?) (St. M.)*—Four miles north of Point Lookout; near present St. Inigoes.

Iodlington Pt. (Jodlington?) (Kent)—Possibly present Milton Point, Chester River.

Yron Hill (Cecil)*

James Pt. (Do.)*

Jenkins Pt. (So.)—Probably present Williams Pt., Pocomoke River.

Iordan Pt. (Do.)—Near present Hills Point.

Kahetnoge (Pa.)—W. side of Susquehanna River, 10 miles above Conowingo.

Kent C(ounty)*—Present Kent Island, Queen Anne's County.

Kent Pt. (Q. A.)*

Keskoe (Pa.)—E. side of Susquehanna River, 7 miles above Conowingo.

King Cess (Pa.)—S. side Schuylkill River near mouth.

Kysikamkont (Creek?) (Pr. G.)—Enters Potomac River 5 miles above Piscataway Creek.

Lancefords Baye (Kent)*—Present Langford Bay, Chester River.

Lancefords Cr. (Kent)*—Present West Fork of Langford Bay.

Lands Cr. (Cal.)—*see* Cosinabint Cr.

Le Compts (Do.)*—At present Lecompte Bay, Choptank River.

Le Compts Pt. (Do.)—Present Castlehaven Point, at Lecompte Bay.

Little Chaptank (River) (Do.)*—Now Little Choptank River.

Little Manaye (Creek) (So.)*—Now Little Monie Creek.

The Lords M. (St. M.)—W. side of Chaptico Creek.

Lords M. (Tal.)—Near present Skipton on headwaters of Wye River.

Love Pt. (Q. A.)*

Loyds Cr. (Tal.)*—Now Lloyd Creek.

Lyon Cr. (A. A.-Cal.)*

Manayunck in Indian (Pa.)—*see* Schuylkill in Dutch.

Marnuoske (?) Cr. (So.)*—Present Marumsco Creek, Pocomoke River.

Martins Pt. (Del.)—Mouth of Christiana Creek, north side.

Maryland Point (Chas.)*

Matstekont (Pr. G.)—On Potomac River just above Piscataway Creek.

Mattapany (St. M.)—S. side of Patuxent, 6 miles from mouth.

Mattapanye (Creek) (Pr. G.)*—Now Mataponi Creek.

Alias Mattopeack (Va.?)—Name of Maryland side of Md.-Va. Line on Eastern Shore. No alternate given.

Mattowamon (Wi.)—On east side of Nanticoke River about 12 miles above Quantico Creek.

Metrum or Pas Pt. (Wo.)—Point on east side of Pocomoke River near present Md.-Va. line.

Mill (Cecil)—On Bohemia M. near present Back Creek.

Mill (St. M.)—On headwaters of present St. Mary River.

Mischine (?) Cr. (Har.)—Possibly present Mosquito Creek.

Mispeninge (Creek?) (Del.)—Possibly present Mispillion River.

Mononoiken (River) (So.)*—Now Manokin River.

Mount Arras (Har.)—Near present Havre de Grace.

Mount Calvert or Calvert M. (Pr. G.)*—Near present Mount Calvert Station.

Mount Scarlugh (Wo.)—Near present Stockton, formerly Sandy Hill. The same hill may possibly have inspired both Sandy Hill and Mount Scarlugh.

Murther Cr. (Del.)*—Now Murder Kill.
Mym (Pa.)—At present Philadelphia.
Namessakont (Creek) (Pr. G.)—12 miles below Potomac Falls.
Nangimye (Creek) (Chas.)—4 miles south of Chicomuxen Creek; possibly present Mallows Creek. North of present Nanjemoy.
Nanticoke R. (Do.-So.)*
Natly (St. M.)—On east side of Wicomico River below Chaptico Creek.
New Castle (Del.)*
New Worck (?) (Q. A.)—Present Wye Island.
Northeast Branch (Choptank) (Caroline)—Possibly intended for the Choptank River above Tuckahoe Creek.
North East Branch (Potomac) (Frederick?)—Enters Potomac River some 30 miles above the Falls. Possibly the Monocacy River.
North East R. (Cecil)*
Ocktoraaro (Creek) (Cecil)*—Now Octoraro Creek.
Ocquandery (Pa.)—E. side of Susquehanna River, 14 miles above Conowingo.
Oester Cr. (Do.)*—Now Oyster Creek.
Onestego R. (Pa.)—E. side of Susquehanna River; 22 miles above Conowingo.
Opland (Pa.)—6 miles below the Schuylkill River, on the Delaware River.
Oppoquemnin Cr. (Del.)—1½ miles above Blackbird Creek, Delaware River.
Oxford (Tal.)*
Palmers Ile (Cecil)—Present Garrett Island.
Pamunky Indian Land (Chas.)*—Section around present Pomonkey Creek.
Pangayo (Chas.)—*see* Zachkia Swamp.
Pas Pt. (Wo.)—*see* Metrum.
Pascattawaye (Creek) (Pr. G.)*—Now Piscataway Creek.
Passayunck (Pa.)—At present Philadelphia.
Patapsko R. (A. A.-Balto.)*—Now Patapsco River.

Patowmeck Falls (Mont.)*—Now Great Falls of the Potomac.
Patowmeck River (Md.-Va.)*—Now Potomac River.
Patuxen R. (St. M.-Cal.)*—Now Patuxent River.
Patuxent M. (Pr. G.)—On west side of Patuxent River opposite Hunting Creek.
Philips Pt. (Do.)—Probably present Clay Island at mouth of Nanticoke River.
Pine Pt. (Q. A.)*—Now Piney Point, Chester River.
Plum Pt. (Cal.)*
Plum Pt. (Cecil)*
Plum Pt. (Del.)—Delaware Bay, 5 miles above Cape Henlopen.
Podderpot Pt. (Do.)—Possibly present Ross Neck, Little Choptank River.
Pt. Look Out (St. M.)*
Pt. Patience (Cal.)*
Pokomoach Bay (So.)*—Now Pocomoke Sound.
Pokomoake R. (Wighco Alias . . .) (So.-Wo.)*—Now Pocomoke River.
Pokquatanguaton (Wo.)—*see* Bauchitinaughton.
Pole Kat Pt. (Cal.)—Point on east side of Patuxent River just south of Hallowing Point.
Pomikaachka (Pa.)—Near present Philadelphia.
Pooles Ile (Har.)*
Poplar Als Bomelaer Waerd Ile (Tal.)*—Now Poplar Island.
Poplas Neck (?) (Cecil)—Near present Veazey Neck.
Porons Pt. (?) (Q. A.)—Probably present Parson Island.
Portland M. (A. A.)—On east shore of Patuxent River opposite Mt. Calvert.
Portobaco (River) (Chas.)*—Now Port Tobacco River.
Poynten M. (Chas.)—At junction of present Avon River and Nanjemoy Creek.
Pris Cr. (So.)—Near present Ape Hole Creek, Pocomoke Sound.
Quantico Creek (Wi.)*
Racers Straits (So.)—Probably present Kedge Straits, Tangier Sound.

Ratclif (Point) (Va.)—At mouth of Pocomoke River.
Read Lyon (Creek) (Del.)*—1.
Read Lyon (Creek) (Del.)*—2—Name repeated. One of these is present Red Lion Creek.
Reads Cr. (Q. A.)*—Now Reed Creek, Chester River.
Read Cr. (Q. A.)—Possibly present White Cove, Chester River.
Resurection M. (St. M.)—About 16 miles from mouth of Patuxent River.
Rete Cr. (Wo.)—On east side of Pocomoke River, 6 miles below Dividing Cr.
Revels Cr. (So.)—Branch of Manokin River, possibly Kings Creek, near Revels Neck.
Richards R. (Do.)—Probably present Brooks Creek, Little Choptank River.
Riet Ile (Del.)—In Delaware River, 8 miles below Newcastle.
Ringmill (St. M.)—Near present Pine Hill Run.
Road R. (A. A.)*—Now Rhodes River.
Rock Cr. (So.)—Branch of Wicomico River near Little Monie Creek.
Ruody Cr. (Har.)—Probably present Romney Creek, near mouth of Bush River.
Ryse Pt. (Wi.)—Point into Wicomico River near present Whitehaven.
St. Catharin R. (Do.)—*see* Tresquaqin.
St. Clements Ile (St. M.)—Present Blakistone Island; near mouth of St. Clements Bay.
S. Gabril Cr. (?) (St. M.)—Near Point Lookout.
St. Georges R. (St. M.)—Present St. Mary River.
St. Georges Ile (St. M.)*
S. John (St. M.)—Just north of St. Marys.
St. Leonards Cr. (Cal.)*
St. Mary C(ounty)*
St. Marys (St. M.)*
St. Michalis R. (Tal.)—Present Miles River.
S. Mickels M. (St. M.)—Near Point Lookout.
St. Thomas (Creek?) (Chas.)—14 miles above Maryland Point, on Potomac R.

Salsbury Cr. (Kent)—Probably branch of present Worton Creek.

Sandex (Har.)—On north side of Gunpowder River, 4 miles from mouth.

Sassafracx R. (Cecil-Kent)*—Now Sassafras River.

Sassquahana Indian Fort—West side of Susquehanna River at Md.-Pa. line (40 degrees).

Sassquahana River (Har.-Cecil)*—Now Susquehanna River.

Schuylkill in Dutch; Manayunck in Indian (Pa.)*—Schuylkill River.

Seavorn R. (Ann Arundel Als . . .) (A. A.)*—Now Severn River.

Sharps Cr. (Do.)—Branch of Little Choptank River near head.

Sharps Ile (Do.)*

Shiles Cr. (Wi.)—Probably the Sholes Creek (Branch of Wicomico River), shown on Martenet's map of Old Somerset County, in his atlas of 1866. Not named on Maryland Geological Survey map of this section.

Sicocers Ile (?) (Va.)—In Pocomoke Sound.

Sims Pt. (Har.)—Point formed by branching of Gunpowder River, 8 miles from mouth.

Skawaghkaha (Pa.)—E. side of Susquehanna River, 22 miles above Conowingo.

Sloughter Cr. (Do.)*—Now Slaughter Creek, Little Choptank River.

Smallhop (Cecil)—On present Back Creek Neck.

Smiths Cr. (Cecil)—Probably present Little Bohemia Creek.

Somerset Town (So.)—Near present Revels Neck, Manokin River.

South R. (A. A)*

Spes (Har.)*—Now Spesutie Island.

Steel Bone Cr. (Kent)—Present Stillpond Creek.

Stephens Cr. (Do.)—Present Parsons Creek, Little Choptank River.

Stephens Reooha (So.)—West of Pocomoke River near headwaters of Big Annemessex River.

Stonie Pt. (Cecil)—Present Oldfield Pt., Elk River.
Stuart Cr. (Do.)—Branch of Little Choptank River near present Ross Neck.
Swan Cr. (Kent)*
Swan Creek (Tal.)—Small creek in neck between present Miles and Choptank Rivers.
Swan Pt. (Kent.)*
Swane Cr. (Har.)*—Now Swan Creek near Spesutie Island.
Swansdak (Del.)—*see* Whoore C.
Swansecut Cr. (Va.)*
Talbot C(ounty)*
Taylors P. (Tal.)—On present Tilghman Point.
Taylors Cr. (Har.)—Branch of Gunpowder River, 8 miles from mouth.
Thorms Pt. (St. M.)—S. side of Patuxent River, opposite Point Patience.
Tinekonke Ile (Pa.)—In Delaware River, 3 miles below Schuylkill.
Tobaco Stoks Cr. (Do.)—Present Madison Bay, Little Choptank River.
Treavon Cr. (Tal.)*—Now Tred Avon River.
Tresquaqin (Catharin, also St. Catharin, R. Als Tresquaqin) (Do.)*—Present Transquaking River.
Trinity M. (St. M.)—Near Point Lookout.
Trips B(ay) (Do.)*—Now Trippe Bay.
Trips Pt. (Do.)—Point into Trippe Bay.
Truman (Pr. G.)*—W. side of Patuxent River, 6 miles south of the present Trueman Point.
Tukkoho Branch (Q. A.-Tal.)*—Now Tuckahoe Creek.
Tully (Q. A.)—Near present Queenstown.
Turky (Point) (Cecil)*—Now Turkey Point, Elk Neck.
Turky Bussard Point (D. C.)—Point formed by junction of Anacostia and Potomac Rivers.
Turnys Cr. (Kent)*—Present Turner Creek, Sassafras River.
Uelm Neck (Cecil)—Present Middle Neck.
Unondouweras (Pa. ?)—E. side of Susquehanna River, 5 miles above Conowingo.

Virdrietige Hoeck (Pa.)—Near Present Marcus Hook, Delaware River.

Waghkawawood (Pr. G.)—On western headwaters of Patuxent River.

Warrington (Cal.)—7 miles south of Plum Point.

Watinge Place (Q. A.)—Present Kent Island Narrows.

Watkins Pt. (So.)*

West R. (A. A.)*

West St. Marys Honn . . . (Hundred?) (St. M.)—Just west of present St. Mary River.

Westwood M. (Chas.)—On east side of Zekiah Swamp.

White Hall (A. A.)—On south side of headwaters of South River.

Whoore C(reek) or Swansdak (Del.)—Present Lewes Creek.

Wicocomoco C(reek) (So.-Wi.)*—Now Wicomico Creek.

Wighako (Pa.)—Near present Philadelphia.

Wighco (So.-Wo.)—*see* Pokomoake R.

Wighcocomoco R. (St. M.-Chas.)*—Now Wicomico River.

Wighcocomoco R. (So. Wi.)*—Now Wicomico River.

Wighkawamecq (Pr. G.)—On point formed by junction of two main branches of Patuxent River near Mount Calvert.

Winbos Pt. (Balto.)—Point formed by branching of Gunpowder River, 8 miles from mouth.

Wingfields Pt. (Do.)—Probably present Hooper Neck and Point, Little Choptank River.

Wissahipkonck (Pa.)*—Present Wissahickon Creek.

Wolsely M. (St. M.)—On headwaters of present St. Mary River.

Woolmans Cr. (Tal.)—Probably present Skipton Creek, Wye River.

Woorten (Kent)*—Now Worton Point.

Worlds End (Creek?)—Headwater of present Bohemia River on south side.

Wulfs Cr. (Del.)—Possibly Little Duck Creek.

Wye R. (Q. A.)*

Zachkia Swamp Als Pangayo (Chas.)*—Now Zekiah Swamp.

EARLY RECORDS OF THE CHURCH AND PARISH OF ALL FAITHS.[1]

St. Mary's County.

1692—1835.

By Henry J. Berkley.

One of the largest of the parishes of the colonial Church of England lay, first in Old Charles, then in Calvert, and finally in St. Mary's County on the shores of the Patuxent River. It was located, first, and until 1672, in the Proprietary Manor of Patuxent, then, afterwards until the War of Independence, in the great Manor of Calverton. Its bounds extended from the easternmost edge of Harvey Hundred on the Patuxent River to Swanson's Creek, also the easternmost limit of Prince George County, a distance of approximately fifty miles. The lower part was separated from King and Queen Parish by the Upper Patuxent, now the Three Notch Road, then, after passing the westernmost edge of Resurrection Hundred it spread out into (New) Charles County until it reached the shores of the Potomac River where it touched the westernmost borders of William and Mary Parishes and into the region about the Zachia Swamp. Thence it returned to Swanson's Creek on Patuxent by an irreg-

[1] The registers of the Church of All Faith's are becoming so dilapidated and illegible that an attempt has been made here to preserve the essential parts of their contents. The most interesting are Books A and B running from 1692 to 1823. These present a picture of colonial Church life not to be found in the minutes of any other Parish on the Western Shore of Maryland. The registers also contain a number of the ecclesiastical laws of the Province not to be found elsewhere, at least not in any of the published numbers of the Colonial Archives. This article is a digest of more than 700 pages.

The community comprising All Faith's Parish, Resurrection, Harvey and Benedict Hundreds on the Patuxent River, was almost purely an English one, rarely one meets with a Scotch or French name.

ular line. This wide extent of territory was later contracted as other Parishes were erected. In 1727 the bounds of the several parishes in this region were rearranged by the Assembly, a point to which we will later recur when the proper year of the Parish Register is reached.

From the year 1692, the date of the constitution of the several parishes of the Maryland Colony, to the time of the Revolution, the influence of All Faith's became more and more important, and its service more widespread. Before 1692 the Church of All Faith's had but local support of a private nature. After the enactment of the 40 lbs. of tobacco per poll tax, the Parish began to expand; it had not only the main Church but chapels-of-ease, owned tobacco houses at several points, and conducted institutions and schools for the poor. In the 1760's it had attained the height of its prosperity, and spent 300,000 lbs. tobacco on the erection of a new main Church at the Forks of Trent Creek to replace the ancient wooden structure that had remained the Mother Church since long before the year 1692, and whose origin has been lost in the dim mists of colonial antiquity.

After the loss of the poll tax, consequent to the War of Independence; with its income cut to shreds, the work of the Church and Parish declined, until in 1818 it had almost ceased to function to advantage. In the days of the Rev. Robert Scott, from 1708, the salary was the equivalent of $1400.00 per annum; while in 1818 it had declined to $350.00 and could be, with difficulty, paid by subscription.

On the 10th of May, 1692, an Act was promulgated by the sitting Assembly entitled " an Act for the service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion in the Province of Maryland." In consequence of this decree orders were sent out to all the Justices of the several counties to appoint a day in their respective political limits to convene, with the freeholders of the counties, for the laying out of parishes and the establishment of churches within them. The meeting for that portion of Calvert County lying on the South shore of

the Patuxent River was held at Benedict Town on the 14th of February, 1692. The Justices present were Thomas Tasker, Thomas Hollyday, John Bigger, Francis Hutchins, James Keech, William Parker and Francis Freeman, besides a body of freeholders.

"It was concluded and agreed by the Justices named, and the principal freeholders at the time and place named, that the Parish should extend from Swanson's Creek to the lower part of Harvey Hundred, the church for the said Parish being already built standing in the Forks of Trent Creek called by the name of All Faith's Church. The Vestry chosen by the freeholders at this time and date were: Captain James Keech, Mr. John Smith, Mr. Richard Southoron, Mr. John Gillom, Mr. Charles Ashkom (Ashcombe [2]), Captain Richard Gardiner. Mr. William Dacres was chosen Clerk to the Parish by the Vestry on a salary of 800 lbs. tobacco a year."

The Vestry, as constituted, met on the 29th August, 1692, and agreed with John Price, carpenter, to repair the church, the interior of which was in ruins, and make it habitable. "Ten cedar posts were required to support the side walls, with a new roof to be covered with clap boards, three large window frames with shutters, a decent pulpit with a canopy above it, a desk for the clerk, and to relay the floor of the church with plank, to rail and bannister it for a communion table, to ovell the church overhead, and batten the inside with plank" all for the consideration of 2000 lbs. tobacco. "Nayles" and glass were to be furnished by the Vestry. According to this descrip-

[2] The Ashcombe property at the date 1650, lay immediately west of De la Brooke Manor, separated by one of the branches of Trent Creek. Its grant shortly preceded that of the Manor, and from the fact that Charles Ashcombe was one of the first members of the Vestry it may be inferred that that the family were adherents of the Episcopal Church when they came from England. The Church at the Forks of the Trent seems to have been built on land originally in the Ashcombe patent. The entire region about the head of Trent Creek was always strongly Protestant, the Keeches, the Hollydays, the Sothorons, the Taskers, the Clarkes, the Greenfields, the Haywards, and at a somewhat later date, the Key family were always churchmen.

tion entered in the Vestry records All Faith's Church was of many years standing since it was built, and was so dilapidated that even the walls had to be restored to make it serviceable, even the interior had been largely destroyed.

In 1675 the Rev. John Yeo was minister to the Episcopal Church at St. Leonard's in Calvert County, at the head of the creek of the same name. This clergyman had a parish of over fifty miles in extent comprising both banks of the Patuxent River, and though there is no direct record All Faith's Church came under his jurisdiction. Christ Church, Calvert County, now located below Prince Frederick, is near the head of St. Leonard's Creek and is the successor of the early church. It is more than possible that Mr. Yeo officiated at both churches, being drawn to All Faith's by the number of men of the Established Church in the region, sufficient to make desirable a place of worship accessable by both land and water. This Reverend gentleman is chiefly known by his letters from Maryland to the Archbishop of Canterbury (the Colony at that date being under the See) setting forth in no dubious language the low state to which the Established Church had fallen in Maryland. His letters so stirred up the clergy and the Lords of Trade in England that Lord Baltimore thought it well to reply (Calvert Paper, P. R. O.).

Besides Mr. Yeo, there was in the locality as early as 1650 the Rev. William Wilkinson, a resident of Resurrection Hundred on the Patuxent. He, however, officiated at St. George's in Poplar Hill Hundred. It is possible that he may have inspired the erection of a church near his plantation for the Protestants nearby. It is speculation as to who built the Church of All Faith's, only, it is certain that it was standing at a very early date, probably before 1675. The Rev. Ethan Allen in a note on a visit to this church named the Rev. John Sliper as its minister in 1692,, but if so there is no account of his name in any document or register of Episcopal clergymen of colonial times.

It would take twenty years of neglect, at the very least, to occasion the described state of delapidation that the edifice was

in at the time the Vestry assumed charge of the building. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that it was built at or before 1675.

Robert Jones, deputy surveyor under Baker Brooke, the successor of his father Robert Brooke, has left a sketch of the Forks of Trent Creek, and the lands on which the church was built, which though differing considerably from the conditions now apparent there is still recognisable.

As reconstructed in 1692-94, the Church did service to its congregation for upwards of eighty-five years, and was replaced by a brick building in 1768-9.

In September, 1692 the land on which the Church stood was deeded by John Price, the owner, to the Vestry "One acre of land in the Forks of Trent Creek upon which is now a church standing, called by the name of All Faith's." "Signed and sealed in the presence of James Keech, John Gillom, Richard Southoron, on the part of the Vestry, and by John Price, his mark."

On August 8th, 1693, John Price was ordered to make seats for the congregation within the body of the Church, for which he was paid 800 lbs. tobacco.

On 29th August, 1694, the Vestry met at the Church and elected Mr. John Taney to be one of their number. In September of the same year they again met at the Church, and considering its rehabilitation sufficiently complete, petitioned the Governor for a minister to take charge of the Church and Parish.

On Sunday, September 16th, the Rev. Thomas Davis "preached his first sermon in the church of All Faith's Parish."

On the 29th September the Vestry met at the Church; Messrs. Ashcombe, Southoron, Taney and Gillom being present, and received the new minister with "thanks to God for sending him, and agreed to the utmost of their ability to provide for him a decent maintenance." Mr. Davis was to officiate both at All Faith's and St. Paul's Parishes, the latter now in Prince George County higher up the River.

In 1694, the Vestry held two years income from the 40 lb. tobacco tax levied for the support of the clergy as ordered by the Assembly and Governor Nicholson.

The bills certified by the Vestry to the High Sheriff of Calvert County for the year 1693 were,

Taxables of the Parish, 265 at 40 per poll.....	10,600	lbs.	tob.
Sheriff's dues, collecting (Ninian Beale).....	530	"	"
The Parish clerk.....	800	"	"
Labourers work.....	400	"	"
Carpenter work.....	1,600	"	"
The minister's charges at St. Mary's City.....	720	"	"
Bringing minister's goods from St. Mary's.....	400	"	"
Note drawn by Mr. Davis on Vestry.....	2,200	"	"
Due Mr. Southoron for minister.....	2,800	"	"
			20,282
In cash, Transportation of minister.....	1/7/0	sterling.	

September to November, 1694. The proceedings of the Vestry were sent to the Governor as required by the recent law. Mr. Davis was offered a salary of 5000 lbs. tob. which he declined, asking for 9000. A compromise was effected at 7000 lbs. Mr. Dacres was reelected clerk for the coming year.

20th June,, 1695. Mr. John Davis, the minister, was made a member of the Vestry according to the new law which required the minister to be the presiding member of a Vestry. Two church-wardens, Jonathan Wilson and John Crooke, were elected and made officials of the Parish following the requirements of the same law.[3]

[3] Under the administration of Governor Nicholson new laws governing the conduction of the parishes were enacted by the Assembly. Some of these were sent from England, while others had their origin in the Colony itself. The following one, much abbreviated, entitled "An Act for the formation of Parishes, 1695, is of interest." The Justices of a County are to meet together at the Court House, having given adequate notice of the meeting to the freeholders of the parish, and are required to lay out their respective county into districts or parishes, their bounds to be assigned and the decisions returned to the County Court to be duly recorded by the clerk thereof. Vestries of six able persons are to be appointed for each parish, which (vestry) is ordered and empowered and required to take charge of all tobacco, goods, wares, merchandise, for the benefit of the

A supplementary "Act on Religion" of the same date requires the minister to be the head of the vestry, stress being laid upon special appointments by the Governor; also a book for marriages, births and deaths is required for each respective church. The same order provides for two church-wardens in each parish to perform the proper duties of church-wardens, as in England, whose particular duty is to provide for the pay of the parish clerks as ordered by Henry, Lord Bishop of London, and see that proper records are kept of marriages, etc. The minister is to see that every three months the records are in order.

The order for the registration of births et cetera was first enacted in the "Act for the Service of God" 10th of May, 1692, but the disorders accompanying the change of government from a Proprietary to a Royal one, and the lack of proper ministerial equipment for the parishes, prevented it being placed in coordinate effect. The "Act of Registration" was repealed in 1694, again reenacted, again repealed, and again enacted, all in 1694, in different forms. (*Vide Maryland Archives*, 1694-5).

At this time the oath of office and allegiance for the vestries was changed by Act of Parliament from the Proprietary to another directly to the King and Queen.

29th July, 1695. William Dacres, clerk to the Parish, bought of Thomas Taney a book of parchment for the registration of marriages for the sum of 200 lbs. tob.

3rd August, 1695. The Vestry convened and agreed to meet

clergy or minister of the parish to which they belong (but), with the first tobacco, merchandize, etc., (they) shall build and erect in the most convenient places one church or chapel-of-ease of such dimensions and proprotions as the vestry may think proper. Parishes already having churches are excepted. The constable of the parish shall provide a list of the taxables in order to know what sum of tobacco shall be required of the sheriff to be raised; 40 lbs. per poll yearly shall be levied upon every taxable of the parish, and be gathered by the sheriff of the county in the same way as the county levy. The sheriff may pay the vestry, or the minister, directly, as the vestry may think proper. Parishes that have no churches are to use the tobacco for building purposes. The Act is to come into effect 10th. March, 1696.

monthly at the Parish Church on the first Saturday of each month, the church-wardens being requested to confer with them on the same day. William Dacres is continued as clerk, the salary increased to 1600 lbs. tob. The Vestry of this date was James Keech, Charles Ashcombe, Richard Southoron, John Gilliom, Thomas Taney, and a new man, John Davie. The oaths taken by the Vestry in accordance with the law were: (1) I do swear that I will never fail in my allegiance unto our Sovereign Lord King William, so help me God. (2) I do swear from my heart that I abhor and detest and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine that princes excommunicated by the See of Rome may be disposed (of) or murdered by their subjects, etc. So help me God. (3) The subscribers hereunto (this included both Vestry and freeholders) do declare that there is no transsubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper after the consecration, or in the element of bread and wine by any person whatsoever. Under the oaths is written: The Vestry subscribe. The Freeholders subscribe.

The names of the freeholders subscribing were: George Trotter, James Keech, Charles Ashcombe, Adam Bell, William Haines, Charles Ashcombe, Jr., George Nowles, Robert Clarke, Robert Slowton, John Gilliom, John Davie, Thomas Taney, Samuel Queen, Thomas Truman Greenfield, Sr., Truman Greenfield, Charles Hodgdon. The subscription of the Parish clerk is William Dacres; those of the wardens John Crooke and Thomas Keech, Jr.

30th October, 1695. Mr. Davis, the minister, went to St. Paul's Church. In the entry of this Vestry meeting one reads that William Dacres was " requested to officiate in the Church of All Faith's until there should be a minister appointed. Mr. Dacres is to come to the Church and read the first and second divine service according to the rubrick," and the Vestry agree to pay him 2000 lbs. per annum. This was in accordance with an order promulgated from Annapolis that in event of a parish being without the services of a minister that a " sober " layman should be appointed to the reading office. A janitor for the church was appointed. Robert Harrison received the post.

7th Dec., 1695. An argument arose at this meeting of the Vestry as to whether the 40 per poll tax was to be paid solely to the minister, or whether the clerk was entitled to a part of it. The question was referred and not settled. An order was given to John Price for additional repairs to the body of the Church requiring 1600 feet of plank.

An order of the Governor and Council for the further building and repairs of churches was read. "In case there is no church convenient in a parish, Court Houses may be used as churches. The order that a "sober" layman read the service on Sundays is confirmed. The Sacrament must be administered three times a year, Christmas, Easter and Whitsontide. The building of schools in connection with the churches must be considered. In October of this year the Governor and Council ordered that returns be made by the vestries of their proceedings, such reports to be sent to the Clerk of the Council's office by the last Tuesday of February of each year. On the same day an additional order was sent by the Governor "that in all parishes where churches are already built that the vestries lay out what tobacco of the 40 per poll tax (not paid to the minister) toward building chapels-of-ease in the most convenient places, and, in case the supply of tobacco is not exhausted, that the vestry lay it out in ready goods or bills of exchange; the order adding that the crop of tobacco for this year is likely to be a good commodity." It is signed, Hy. Denton, Ck. to Council.

1696. The names of the vestry have not changed. Late in the year the inside of the Church was ordered to be finished, the plastering of the walls, the pulpit and the clerk's desk placed in position, the Communion table and rail with the pews and seats. John Price had by this time been paid over 12,000 lbs. of tobacco for repairs, and the Vestry had furnished nails and glass to the extent of 800 lbs. more. Officiating ministers had been paid 10,200 lbs. but other than Mr. Davis their names are not given. It was ordered by the Governor that a return of the actions of the Vestries should be made to the December Court, also that marriages could only be performed by license,

to be recorded in the Parish book, and returned to his Excellency.

October 11th, 1696. The several vestries were ordered by the Governor to report what "forwardness" the churches were in; whether finished according to contract and paid for; what ground the churches stood on, and whether it had been purchased and made "secure." The vestries are to have their accounts ready against his Excellency's coming to visit them.

12th April, 1696/1697. Easter meeting of the Vestry. There were no changes in the body. William Smith of Benedict Hundred and John Miles of Resurrection Hundred were elected church-wardens for the present year. Mr. Mason, sheriff of St. Mary's County, was ordered to pay John Price 2200 lbs. of tobacco for additional work on the Church. He is told to clear away all debris from the Church lot. The Vestry received from the hands of Mr. Dacres, clerk, four bibles, the Whole Duty of Man, three books on the Defense of the Common Prayer, three catechisms, and one Lecturn book. On the same day Mr. Tubman, minister from William and Mary Parish, received 400 lbs. tob. for his extra services. The glass for the church windows was received from Captain Keech, three panes 2′ 1″ x 1′ 6″ broad, three squares of 18″, one casement pane, six panes 3′ 2″ long, 18″ wide, and six smaller casement glasses.

3rd June, 1697. Mr. William Norris was appointed as clerk to the Vestry at a salary of 800 lbs. tob., and took the necessary oath as provided by the Assembly. William Smith and Robert Stourton were made church-wardens for the next year. It was ordered that Captain Beane, Sheriff of Charles County, shall desist paying the Upper Church (St. Paul's) any of the poll tax from people living below the main branch of Swanson's Creek.

3rd June, 1697. Ordered by the Governor and Council that the sheriffs shall give notice to vestrymen that they do not omit to return, by a delegate, to the Assembly, copies of its proceedings and the year's receipts per poll tax, also the state of completion of the churches. The account sent by the Vestry com-

prised the years from 1693 to 1697, and showed every expenditure, those of the several officiating ministers and repairs to the Church being the principal ones. The receipts were 45,260 lbs. tob. with a balance slightly less than receipts. Glass, altar-cloths, cushing casings, were received through Captain Keech from England.[4]

In a letter to the Governor of this year the Vestry announced: "That the Church is finished, only pulpit cushings and altar-cloths are lacking, which have been sent for. Further; we beg your Excellency to send us some good man that we may glorify God in the Church after having it cost so much and the pains bestowed upon it, that it may stand as a lanthorn. As for a reader, we have employed him a year and a half, but for three parts of a year we had nobody to come to hear him." In the letter assurance is given that the land whereon the Church stands, one acre, is duly the property of the Parish. "Our Parish is fifty miles long, and the Church stands in the upper part, and the parishioners in the lower part grumble at their being no service for them. Will your Excellency command that we build a chapel-of-ease with what tobacco the sheriffs hold for us?"

21st February, 1698. At a Vestry meeting of this date Mr. Mason, the Sheriff, was ordered to pay the widow Wilkinson 600 lbs. tob. due her husband for the time he was our clerk, also to pay Mr. Dacres 100 lbs. for being clerk at the christening of children by Mr. Tubman.[5]

The Vestry remained the same for 1697 as for the previous year.

2nd April, 1698. The articles for the adornment of the Church sent for by Captain Keech were received as follows:

[4] That portion of Calvert County on the South side of the Patuxent River was in 1696 returned to St. Mary's County, from which it originally came, it having in 1650 been devised by Cecil Baltimore to Robert Brooke as a separate county.

[5] Mr. Tubman had been sent by Governor Nicholson to take charge of the chapel-of-ease. A note was received by the Vestry from the Assembly inquiring "whether the Governor was putting the country to an unreasonable charge by building churches to big and too chargeable for the country."

Cushion for the pulpit £ 3/17/6; two yards green satin plush, 1/07/0; seven yards silk fringe 0/7/0; glass for windows, 1/13/05; chest for books, 0/12/0; with commission, a total of £ 10/09/04.

9th August, 1698. The body of the Vestry engaged a Mr. Plats as irregular minister, and are to pay him 500 lbs. for each sermon preached by him. Mr. Charles Ashcombe is fined for non-attendance on vestry meetings. A petition sent by the Vestry to the Governor; recalls: " That on the 14th February, 1692, a meeting of the Justices and freeholders was held at Benedict Leonard Town for the laying out of Parishes on the South side of the Patuxent River, and whereas a dispute has arisen as to the confines of the Parish between this and the Upper Parish (St. Paul's), it is now requested to have the proper bounds of each settled." Henry Lowe, High Sheriff of St. Mary's County reported that there were now 231 taxables in the Parish. John Beane, Sheriff of Charles County reported 64 taxables in that portion of the County belonging to All Faith's. 10,000 lbs. of tobacco is set aside for the building of a chapel-of-ease at the lower end of the Parish. Mr. Benjamin Nobbs is sent by " Henry, Lord Bishop of London " to officiate as clergyman to the Church, with a letter from Governor Nicholson stating: " I do therefore appoint Mr. Nobbs minister in the half of All Faith's Parish in St. Mary's Co., this 10th of May, 1698."

24th November, 1698. The Vestry meeting at this date appointed the Rev. Mr. Nobbs to the Lower End of All Faith's Parish. " To meet Mr. Nobbs the Vestry will assemble at the house of Mr. Robert Clarke (in Resurrection Hundred) and treat about the settling and building of a chapel-of-ease in the lower one-half of the Parish." A salary of 3000 lbs. tob. is to be paid Mr. Nobbs on order of the Vestry. The chapel-of-ease is to cost 10,000 lbs. tob.

28th November. A special meeting of the Vestry was, at this date, held at the Cool Springs (on order of the Governor and Assembly to obtain land for a healing resort). Col. John Courts, Capt. Philip Hoskins, Capt. James Keech, Capt. John

Beane, Capt. Jacob Moorland, and Capt. Benjamin Hall had been appointed Trustees of the Springs by Gov. Nicholson, and for the purchase of 50 acres of land from the owner, Capt. John Dent, "where the Fountains of Healing Waters lie, and for the settling and building of an house upon the land." Capt. Dent appeared and sold the land to the Trustees—for £25 sterling. Capt. Keech is to see that the Surveyor of St. Mary's Co. "properly marked the land and had a conveyance drawn."

29th November, 1698. The Vestry met with the parishioners of the lower part of the Parish and selected a site for the chapel-of-ease, and the acre of ground whereon the chapel was to stand was given by the owner. Mr. John Nutwell, Mr. Adam Bell and Mr. Robert Clarke were named Trustees of the building, "for us and in our name to treat with a carpenter and all other workmen, and to buy all things requisite for the finishing of the work." The necessary 10,000 lbs. tob. is already in the hand of Col. Henry Lowe, Sheriff of St. Mary's County. This mandate was signed by James Keech, Richard Southoron, Thomas Taney, John Gillom and John Davie of the Vestry, only Mr. Ashcombe being absent.[6]

1699. Mr. Gerard Foulke, Sheriff of Charles County reported 94 taxables in his district; Col. Henry Lowe of St. Mary's numbered 294 in his return for the Parish. A tobacco income of 14,592 pounds for the year 1698 was received by the Vestry. The debit side of the ledger showed an expenditure of 12,466 pounds, for the ministers, Mr. Nobbs, 7000; paid on account of a purchase from Raphael Hayward of glebe land, 9000 lbs.; the balance for repairs to the church and the beginning of the chapel leaving a deficit for the year.

1700, 23rd December. Annapolis. "The bearer Mr. Holt, is presented by me as minister of All Faith's Parish. He is very well qualified. I heartily wish you may agree with him to preach among you. (Signed) Nathaniel Blackiston."

[6] The location of this chapel is, at present, unfortunately unknown. It was, however, not far from the home of Robert Clarke in Resurrection Manor, therefore not far from the present village of Laurel. The Cool Springs is now Charlotte Hall.

1701. Mr. James Hay, Sheriff of St. Mary's returned 343 taxables in the St. Mary portion of the Parish. A church bible was bought, Mr. Nobbs preached four times at the Church, and Mr. Plats from a neighboring parish officiated once. Mr. Oven, Mr. Joseph Hoult, Mr. Troop, preached at the Church and at the Cool Springs.[7]

12th March, 1700. At a Vestry meeting Mr. James Keech, Jr., was sworn in as clerk to the Parish. The key to the Church is to be kept by Mr. Robert Sturton, he having the Church records in custody.

May, 1703. A notice is received from the Assembly that in future two members of a vestry must be dropped annually, and two other members of the parish substituted for them. The Vestry must consist of six members, the minister presiding. Mr. Gillom and Mr. Queen were "turned out" and Mr. John Nutwell and Robert Clarke appointed in their places.[8] The membership of the Vestry was formed of James Keech, Sr., Thomas Taney, John Davie, John Gillom, Robert Stourton and Robert Clarke. There was no constant rector, only occasional clergymen served the pulpit of the main Church. Messrs. Williams and Blackman were the church-wardens. Thomas Nutwell, the clerk, is ordered to see that the lower chapel is finished. Mrs. Eleanor Tubman, the widow of the Rev. Mr. Tubman received an order on the Sheriff, Mr. John Hart, for 1600 lbs. tob. due to him at the time of his death, "the same being paid for four Sermons of Vertue, preached by command of the President (Tench) and Council." "The Rev. George Trotter appeared before the Vestry bearing an order from the Presi-

[7] Chapel-of-ease, lower chapel, sometimes chapel are synonymous. In the records the Church is sometimes the Church, occasionally the Upper Church. The Glebe land purchased from Mr. Raphael Hayward in 1698, was known as Toy Kirk, it having been so designated in the patent. The part of the tract retained by Mr. Hayward was known as Fan Kirk. Both lay to the South of the Upper Patuxent Road (the Three Notch Road) at the head of the waters that constituted the Cabin Branch of Trent Creek.

[8] Since the accession of James Keech, Jr. to the duties of clerk to the Vestry the records have not been kept with regularity, and the orthography is at times execrable.

dent that he be invested in the Parish of All Faith's." The Vestry approved of the request and ordered that he be entered in the records. Mr. Trotter was sent by the Bishop of London to officiate as a clergyman of the Church of England.

27th November, 1703. A full Vestry meeting was held this date with the newly appointed minister presiding. Messrs. Clarke, Nutall and Bell were ordered to have control of the chapel. The Vestry took under consideration the enlargement of the Church of All Faith's.

11th April, 1704. Annual meeting of the Vestry and parishioners. John Davie and Robert Clarke were "dismissed" and Adam Bell and William Hames elected in their room. Mr. Blackman, the clerk was "discharged" and Thomas Butler chosen in his place. John Wilson and John Nutall were chosen church-wardens, James Keech clerk of the Parish records. The keeper of these records must be a "landed man." It was ordered that the next Annual Meeting would be at the chapel-of-ease, and there elect new members.

8th September, 1704. Proceedings were ordered by the Vestry against Mr. George Plater, Sheriff of St. Mary's, as he declines to pay to the Vestry the tax for the year 1700. Slaves are not allowed to do ordinary work on the Sabbath. Vestries are ordered by the President and Council to inspect and make return of the books owned by the Parish, through the Sheriff of St. Mary's Co., Mr. John Coode, Jr. Inspectors of Tobacco houses are to be appointed by the vestries. Batchelors are to be taxed for the benefit of the parishes, when they have reached the age of 25 years, and have in their own right an estate of over 100 pounds sterling.

9th April, 1705. Easter Monday election. Two new vestrymen were to be selected. Messrs. Thomas Taney and William Hames were "turned out" and Edmund Mason and William Smith chosen in their places. John Wilson and Thomas Butler were retired as church-wardens, and Joseph Edwards and William Hutchins elected in their room. James Keech is con-

tinued as recorder. 6000 lbs. tob. has been paid on the chapel-of-ease.

In answer to a request of the President of the Council at Annapolis that a list of the books sent them, replied that no books had ever been sent. There were now on hand 4 bibles, a lecturn book, 3 books of common prayer, and one great church bible, all of which we have bought ourselves. The salaries of the Rev. Mr. Nobbs of the chapel-of-ease, William Harris, reader, Col. Moorland for a book of prayer, and Mr. Nobbs, preaching at the Church, were paid. The Rev. George Trotter was paid 12,817 lbs. tob. for his sevices for the year. In the account sent to the Governor for this year complaint is again made of Sheriff George Plater, who "is ever putting off his accounts to the Church with "hames and stories" although he knows that we have employed workmen on the Church and chapel-of-ease, and they cannot be paid unless accounts are settled by him. Will your Excellency please lay your command, etc."

30th April, 1705. The annual vestry meeting was held at the house of James Keech. William Smith and Edward Mason were chosen new members of the Vestry. The present Vestry is formed of Capt. James Keech, Robert Stourton, James Nuthall, Sr., Edward Mason and William Smith. The only parishioners present were Robert Clarke and William Hutchins.

There is no record of a Vestry meeting in 1706.

6th May, 1707. The Annual meeting was held at the new chapel-of-ease, and was attended by James Nuthall, Adam Bell, and Edmund Mason. Robert Clarke became clerk to the Vestry and is to care for the Church books now in the hands of James Keech, Jr. Mr. John Taney was elected warden of the lower Parish, and Raphael Hayward of the upper one.

22nd June, 1707. The new minister, Mr. Jennings, preached his first sermon at the chapel. A new oath "of abjuration to Queen Anne" was taken by the whole Vestry, it stated (in part): "The Queen is the rightful Sovereign of all British dominions; the Prince, who pretended to be the Prince of

Wales (James III) hath not any right or title to be King of England, or of any dominion thereof." The Act was formally entitled "An Act for the limitation of the Crown and the promulgation of the Protestant Religion."

1st August, 1707. A survey was made of the glebe lands they being a part of "Fan Kirk" lately the property of Mr. Raphael Hayward. The glebe has 250 acres.

25th October, 1707. The Rev. Mr. White lectured at the Parish Church on Saturdays once a month. The Governor wrote: "Until such time as I will be able to furnish you with another minister for the Church, Mr. White will preach at your chapel and I will be well content. I will expect you to provide for him an honourable allowance, out of the 40 per poll tax." (Signed) Jo. Seymour.

5th April, 1708. Annual Easter meeting, held at the chapel-of-ease. There were present, of the vestry: John Nuthall, Adam Bell, Edmond Mason. Charles King and Mathew Lewis were chosen new vestrymen. The parishioners present were Enoch Coombes, John Layne, William Wilkinson, William Hutchins, Andrew Ffoy, John Hales and Robert Hutchins. John Nuthall and Adam Bell were "turned out" and Richard Hopewell and John Nuthall, Jr., substituted. Raphael Hayward and John Taney were "dismissed" as church-wardens and Robert Philips and John Biggs filled their room. Robert Clarke became clerk and recorder. Inquiry was made as to who held the church plate. Mr. Jennings of the chapel was allowed a salary of 7000 lbs. it being one-half the income from the receipts.

29th April, 1708. A Vestry meeting. It agreed with Mr. William Biggs that he should build a porch to the Church, 12′ square with inside turned bannisters, the porch to have benches within "from dore to dore"; also to weatherboard the church to four feet from the ground, and place a bench 10′ long under the back window, all to cost 4000 lbs. tob.

7th August, 1708. The Vestry met at the house of Mr. Raphael Hayward to meet the Rev. Mr. Robert Scott, he hav-

ing been sent by his Excellency. The vestrymen present to receive him were: Edmund Mason, William Smith, Samuel Queen, Peter Harris, Richard Hopewell and John Nuthall, Sr. A letter was read from Gov. Seymour to state that the minister was sent by Henry, Lord Bishop of London, Diocesan of the Province of Maryland, to them, and was dated 15th July, 1708.

Mr. William Coode, Sheriff of St. Mary's gave the number of taxables for the past year as 382 in number, yielding 15,280 lbs. of tob. Walter Story, Sheriff of Charles County, returned 110 taxables. Both counties showed an increasing population.

Rev. Mr. Jennings preached two sermons at the chapel; continued alterations were made in the Church, buildings were begun at the glebe, Mr. White preached at the Church, a porch like that at the Church was built for the chapel, and Mr. Scott was paid his portion of the year's salary amounting to 2500 pounds. Mr. Scott is to have an additional 3500 lbs. to be expended on the glebe, chiefly to stock it. Mr. Samuel Queen is to have the first pew in the Church assigned to him, next the altar on the same side as the pulpit.

25th April, 1709. Easter Monday election, held at the Church. The Rev. Robert Scott presided. By the vote of the parishioners Messrs. Mason and Smith were "turned out" and Thomas Truman Greenfield and Thomas Crabb elected. John Biggs and Robert Philips were designated as church-wardens. Charles Hoskins became clerk to the vestry. The parishioners voting were Robert Hutchins, James Edwards, John Davis, Henry Peregrine Jowles, Thomas Crabb and Thomas Truman Greenfield.

A note was received from the Governor calling the attention of all vestries to misapplication of the 40 per poll tax, and requiring them to give early notice to their parishioners of the annual Easter meeting so they may be present at them. A yearly change in the vestries is enforced.

12th May, 1709. The new Vestry was formed of Peter Harris, James Crabb, T. T. Greenfield, Richard Hopewell, Mr. Queen and Mr. Nuthall. The last three were fined for non-

attendance on meetings. It was ordered that Captain Crabb take bills of exchange from Madame Eleanor Keech, they being due from her to the Parish, and from the proceeds to buy such goods as were needed by the Church. The widow of carpenter Price, who rebuilt the Church, now received 200 lbs. tob. yearly for cleaning and sweeping the same. Andrew Foy is sexton at the chapel. Charles Hodgdon is clerk to the Vestry, vice George Trotter. Mr. Jennings received his salary. A Vestry room is ordered to be built at the glebe, the locality being the center of the Parish, and the most convenient spot for all the vestrymen. It is also ordered that the vestry room be built by the "procurement" of the Rev. Mr. Scott, 15′ long by 15′ wide, with an inside chimney.

21st July, 1709. A Vestry meeting. Mr. Scott brought before the body a petition whereby the taxables of the Parish are to be assessed an additional 5 lbs. per poll for the purpose of the Parish in addition to the usual 40 lbs. per poll. The Vestry accede to the proposition and orders for collection are sent out to the Sheriffs. Mr. Peter Harris and T. T. Greenfield are allowed to have their pews next the pulpit on the West aisle of the Church. Henry P. Jowles is to have a part of Mr. Queen's pew. Kenelm Cheseldyne is now Sheriff of St. Mary's County.

April 10th, 1710. Captain Jowles and Joseph Edwards were chosen over Peter Harris and Samuel Queen. John Davis and Robert Hutchins became church-wardens. Charles Hodgdon continued as sexton.

6th November, 1710. Vestry meeting, at the Rev. Mr. Scott's. Mr. Davis Evans begs to be allowed to take into his pew in the southwest corner of the chapel the families of Thomas Blackman and Peter Pillion. Robert Hutchins desires to take into his pew the families of John Taney and William Wilkinson. George Keech, having built a pew in the Church, desires to take in Charles Hodgkin and Charles Smith "as partners." Mrs. Keech having built a pew in the Church joining the pulpit wishes to take in Samuel Sothoron and James

Keech. All are allowed. A petition is sent to the Charles County Court for an additional 5 lb. tax, in addition to the 40 per poll tax.

The list of vestrymen of this date was Joseph Edwards, Richard Hopewell, John Nuthall, Thomas Crabb, Thomas Truman Greenfield and Henry P. Jowles.

4th December, 1711. The annual Vestry meeting for the election of new members had been deferred to this date as the Court met this year on Easter Monday. John Nuthall, Sr., and Adam Bell were elected in the room of John Nuthall, Jr., and Richard Hopewell. Samuel Sothoron and Charles King are chosen wardens, the latter for the chapel.

Mr. Bladen is required to serve notice on Mrs. Elizabeth Keech that she must pay her deceased husband's debts amounting to 18/17/04 sterling, but the " prosecution " of Mrs. Keech is suspended to await the arrival of a Suffragan to be sent by the Bishop of London.

21st April, 1712. Annual Easter Monday meeting. The parishioners make choice of Messrs. John Cartwright, and John Anderson in the place of Capt. Crabb and Capt. T. T. Greenfield. The new wardens were Thomas Truman for the Church in the place of Samuel Sothoron, deceased, and David Evans for the chapel. The wardens were ordered to inspect the condition of both churches and report what repairs were required.

10th June, 1712. Meeting at the glebe house. A 10 pound poll tax was ordered for the benefit of the chapel, alternating with one of the same amount for the Church. Mr. Anderson and Mr. Cartwright are to report immediately the condition of the two churches. Madame Keech pleads poverty as an excuse for the non-payment of her debt. The amount is reduced to one-half, to be paid in tobacco instead of sterling.

12th July, 1712. The Committee reports that it is necessary to take down and " rebuild the entire South wall of the Upper Church, and while this is being done to provide a gallery at the West end from the gable to the " gice " with three seats. A

new chancel should also be built at the East end of the church 12′ square and of equal height with the ceiling, the first story to be wainscotted with plank; the whole body of the church to be covered with bevelled plank and shingled. Capt. Jowles is to have charge of the work and be bonded for its proper performance. 25,000 lbs. tob. was appropriated for the alterations.

6th April, 1713. The annual election was this year held at the chapel, this time for the choosing of four vestrymen. John Taney and Charles King were elected in the room of H. P. Jowles and Joseph Edwards. Charles and Robert Hart became wardens, the first for the Upper the second for the Lower church. Edward White was paid 3970 lbs. for repairs to the Church. Madame Keech paid her debts in tobacco. Henry Lowe and Edmund Dent were respectively Sheriffs of St. Mary's and Charles Counties.[9]

29th March, 1714. The annual election was held at the Upper Church. Messrs. John Segar and John Conway were chosen vestrymen in the place of John Nuthall and Adam Bell. The wardens now were William Wilkinson for the Upper and James Halke for the Lower Church in the place of Charles Smith and Robert Hutchins. John Burroughs appears as having been elected vestryman on the 6th April, 1713. He is now sworn in. A Mr. Connoway was also elected but declined the office. 500 lbs. tob. were allowed Mr. Wilkinson for a new chest for the Church to hold the vestments. 6000 pounds were subscribed toward rebuilding the Church. All the vestrymen and parishioners took the oath of allegiance to the new Sovereign, King George I. The oath was administered by Capt. Jowles.

18th April, 1715. Easter election at the chapel. John Dansey and John Reed were chosen vice John Cartwright and John T. Anderton. Joseph Crook and Robert Hutchins were made church-wardens.

14th July. Vestry meeting at the minister's residence. Mr.

[9] The accounts of receipts and expenditures are not now kept with the regularity of earlier Vestries. The entries are also dated somewhat irregularly.

Bowles undertook to recover the chapel at an expense of 1200 lbs. tob. It was ordered that two new windows be cut in the walls of the Church each "2′ wide and as deep as the rest of the windows."

2nd April, 1716. The annual election of vestrymen. Truman Greenfield and Charles Ashcombe were elected to the Vestry, vice, John Taney and Charles King. James Keech was made warden of the Upper, Robert Hutchins of the Lower Church.

Robert Hanson is now Sheriff of Charles County, Kenelm Cheseldyne of St. Mary's.

18th April, 1717. The annual election was held at the Lower Church. The parishioners made choice of Adam Bell and Thomas Blackman in the room of Messrs. Segar and Burroughs. John King and Henry Lowe were appointed wardens for the Church while Robert Hutchins was continued at the chapel. Charles Hodgkin was clerk to the Vestry.

Captain Jenifer is Sheriff of St. Mary's County.

14th April, 1718. Easter meeting. Philip Lock and Thomas Gosling become vestrymen in the room of John Reed and John King. Richard Stevens became warden for the Church, and John Gibbens for the chapel.

2nd February, 1718/1719. This meeting of the Vestry was held at the home of Rev. Mr. Scott, a full vestry being present, namely Truman Greenfield, Charles Ashcombe, Thomas Blackman, William Wilkinson, Philip Locke, Thomas Gosling. It was "ordered that John Ashcombe have that tract of land called Greenfield that John Dansey left to the Parish for 99 years, and that he pay £6 sterling for the same."

14th April, 1719. Annual election. Richard Hopewell and James King were elected in the place of Charles Ashcombe and Truman Greenfield. Samuel Wood became warden for the church and James Gibbons for the chapel.

The following articles were sent for through Truman Greenfield: Two silver chalices, two silver patens, a pulpit cushion, green velvet cloth, a box window glass of 100 ft. square, iron

latchets for the doors, hasps and dovetails for casements, two "fashionable" canonical surplices, one folio register, two folio books of church homilies, two pewter flagons washed with gold. The Vestry "agree" with John Gibbons to relay the floor of the vestry-room and at the same time to make a door by the side of the chimney and a "shiffe" at the front of the chimney and four benches, everything handsome and decent; all for the sum of 850 lbs. tob. They also "order him to post and rail the yard of the Church" for which he is allowed 1600 lbs.[10]

A list of the parishioners contributing to an especial fund for the embellishment of the churches of the Parish taken at the last annual election was: Henry Peregrine Jowles, Mr. Edmunds, Capt. Greenfield, Peter Vilet, Jonas Jankin, John Cartwright, James Wood, Charles Smith, Thomas Truman, John Anderson, William Smith, Thomas Crabb, John Burroughs, John Dansey, Rev. Robert Scott, Peter Harris, John Cosby, Philip Harvey. The majority contributed an average of 200 lbs. apiece, but Mr. Scott added 1200, John Dansey 1200, and Peter Harris 500 lbs. The total amount raised was 5000 lbs. Daniel Evans and Samuel Wood were wardens.

At a meeting shortly after the annual election there were present: John Forblet, George Plater, Thomas Reeder, John Cartwright, Francis Hutchins, Thomas Greenfield, James Truman Greenfield, Philip Clarke, Philip Clarke, Jr., Samuel Sothoron, John Abell, Robert Hammett, Jr., W. Brice, N. Truman Greenfield, Richard Hopewell, Thomas Aisquith, Hugh Hopewell, Truman Greenfield, Randall Morris, John Anderson, John Reed, Samuel Abell, Lawrence Lant, George Bowles, Robert Clark, David Evans, Samuel Wood.[11]

[10] At this date the additional 10 lbs. in addition to the 40 lbs. per poll continues to be in effect. On Oct. 29th of this year the tax was reduced to 8 lbs.

[11] The Rev. Mr. Scott seems to have awakened the interest of the parishioners in the work of the parish in a way never before attained. The quantity of tobacco demanded of them may have had something to do with this interest.

A break now occurs in the continuity of the records of the Vestry, from 1719 to 1725.

During this time Daniel Jenifer of Charles, Thomas Truman Greenfield and Richard Hopewell were Sheriffs of St. Mary's County. There were 64 taxables belonging to the parish in the Charles County portion, in the St. Mary's part 477, of which 416 lived in Resurrection Hundred. The total of the poll tax was 16,166 lbs. tob. (1723). The increase in the population in St. Mary's County is constant.

5th June, 1726. An election of church-wardens. A letter from the Governor was read at this meeting dated the 2nd of May, 1726, which stated that "James Bowles, Esqr., having made complaint to this Board of being chose church-warden in the parish, we are of the opinion that it is indignity offered to a member of his Lordship's Council. It is therefore desired that you proceed to a new election for another church-warden in his room and stead." Signed per order, Geo. Plater, clk. to Council.

The reply courteous was as follows: "The parishioners in compliance to the said request, proceed(ed) to a new election, and as they believe the law does not exempt any man from serving God, the Country and his Church, and in regard James Bowles, Esqr., is a gentleman in every way qualified to serve the parish as church-warden, they unanimously agreed to make choice of the said James Bowles, Esqr., to serve as church-warden for the parish aforesaid, to serve until Easter Monday next." (Signed) Robert Scott, T. T. Greenfield.

It is hardly necessary to add that Mr. Bowles served.[12]

[12] It is most difficult to ascertain from the Archives of the Colony, from Bacon's Digest, or other available manuscripts, the entire extent of the Parish of All Faith's in the earlier years of the 18th century. As elsewhere given, in the year 1692, when the parishes were first laid out, it took in Harvey, the Resurrection Hundred (Fenwick Manor was included in Resurrection Hundred), and the entire extent of Charles County bordering on the Patuxent River, that is the country between Indian and the main branch of Swanson's Creek, a total length of some fifty miles on the River. Toward the Potomac River the boundaries were not defined, possibly, because the lands were thinly settled. St. Mary's County (in which All Faith's

In 1729, the Assembly ordered changes in the boundaries of St. Mary's and Charles County parishes (*vide,* Vol. XXXVI of the *State Archives*). The new limits to the modern reader are not clear. The western boundaries of William and Mary Parish, the most western of the St. Mary's Parishes is "defined as having its West edge at Mr. Lewis Creek on Patuxent, to the wading place of the Ordinary Run, including all land above the Ordinary Run running to the main road to the Court House (at St. Mary's City), until it reaches John Jarboe's place along the road to Resurrection Hundred (the Three Notch Road) thence to St. Clement's and Choptico." In a general way King and Queen and William and Mary Parishes at the date above given extended from the present Millstone Landing, taking in the whole of the peninsula East of the Mattapany Road, thence westward, unbroken, to the neighborhood of Choptico Creek, thence, brokenly to Port Tobacco Hundred, but, a considerable portion, away from the Potomac, was under the influence of the Vestry of All Faith's Parish. John Jarboe's land lay almost at the junction of the road that led to the Court House, the Mattapany Road, and the road that led to the Upper Patuxent regions, now known by the name of the Three Notch Road. As the country became more and more peopled, and new parishes were erected, its sway contracted to the original limits as defined in the Act of 1692. This view of the extent of All Faith's Parish is borne out by the fact that there were, at times, members of the Vestry who had their homes in St. Andrew's and Christ Church Parishes. The church at Choptico was not built until after 1734, by petition of the community to the Assembly for a levy of tobacco, the old church built by Thomas Gerrard standing at quite a distance away from the town.

Again, the boundaries of the Parish were altered in 1748

did not lie until after 1696) was then (1692) divided into two parishes, extending on the Patuxent below Harvey to the mouth of the River, thence along the Bay Shore to the Potomac River, thence westward on the River to St. Clement's and Newtown Hundreds. Westwards of Newtown there seems to have been a gap in the parishes (for a time) until the environs of Port Tobacco Hundred and Parish was reached.

(*vide* Bacon's *Digest and Archives,* Vol. XII, pg. 608). "Barnes Mill" now becomes the point of division between King and Queen and All Faith's Parish, the line being drawn at 42½ degrees West of Greenwich to the limit of Charles County. The location of Barnes Mill has long been lost, and even the degrees to the West have become uncertain. It must suffice to determine, that in its southwest part the sphere of the Parish was of great extent in the late days of the 17th century, thinly populated away from the rivers, and gradually grew in wealth and importance until the Revolution came, which occasioned the loss of the poll tax and other revenues, and for a time an almost complete annihilation of its political services. The vast change in this respect may be judged by the fact that in the wealthy times preceding the year 1776, the Parish paid its Rector the equivalent of $1400.00, besides being furnished with a large glebe. He was the wealthiest man within its limits, which is in strong contrast with the fact that after the War of Independence the Parish was only able to raise a salary of $150.00 for the incumbent by subscription of the parishioners. Eventually, the services at the Church became dependent on the staff of Charlotte Hall for its religious life. The period of reconstruction was long and tedious. Trinity Parish, formerly a part of the Parish, became its mainstay. It is a curious circumstance that in the books of the Parish there is no mention of the disturbances attending the period of the Revolutionary War other than a note on the change of the form of oath from allegiance to King George to one to the State of Maryland.

To return to the year 1748. In 1740 an Act was passed by the Assembly appointing Commissioners to divide St. Mary's County into four parishes, and to erect that portion of All Faith's Parish in Charles County "into a distinct parish." This Act was nullified by the non-appointment of Commissioners. Again, as above noted, in 1745 there was another movement to alter the western parts of St. Mary's County and the Eastern parts of Charles into a new parish, which was

again made void by a rider that the change could not be made during the lifetime of the incumbents, the Reverends John Urquahart and Lawrence de Butts. Mr. Urquahart did not die until 1765 when the constitution of Trinity Parish, Charles County immediately followed (*vide Arch.*, Vols. XLIV and XLVI). An assessment on the inhabitants of the region for 55,000 lbs. tob. was then made for the erection of a church, the location not being stated. The Assembly of 1766 also passed an Act to enable the Justices of Charles County to build a chapel-of-ease in Benedict Hundred, 50,000 lb. of tobacco. "One acre of land was purchased at Villet's Old Fields on the main road from Bryantown to Benedict" and the chapel built. (Hanson, session Nov. 16, 1766).

Another break in the entries occurs at this date.

16th April, 1732. An annual election was held on this day. The parishioners made choice of John Willson instead of Allan Davis, not effecting a choice in the place of Richard Hasler. John Edwards and Samuel Wood became wardens instead of John Reed and Daniel Evans.

The records now return to tobacco entries for many pages. During 1726 Col. John Baker was Sheriff of St. Mary's, and John Howard of Charles County. In Harvey Hundred there were 105 taxables, in Resurrection Hundred, 418, in Benedict Hundred 155. In 1730 George Clark was Sheriff of St. Mary's, Randall Morris, Sheriff of Charles County. St. Mary's County showed 609, Charles County 183 taxables.

May, 1733. The list of parishioners voting at the annual election included: Francis Hutchins, Thomas Reader, Henry G. Sothoron, Thomas Greenfield, John Chesley, John Wheatley, John Stephen (curate to the Parish), Henry Tubman, Samuel Sothoron, William Kilgore, Jonathan Edwards, James Burroughs, Richard Sothoron, Melville Locke, Charles King, Jr., Nathaniel L. Greenfield, Richard Pierce, John Hogerhaut, John Hutchins, Hugh Hopewell, John H. Brome, John Reeder, James Latimer, William Bruce, Benjamin Edwards, N. S.

Sothoron, John Somerwell, Alexander Urquahart, James Chapelier and James S. Briscoe.

Benjamin Fendall was Sheriff of St. Mary's County. The 5 lb. per poll is still required. In the voting list there occurs the name of John Stephen as curate, probably an assistant to the Rev. Robert Scott, who was rapidly becoming incapacitated from age. The records have become only a list of receipts and expenditures, many of them unintelligible. In 1766 the Vestry bought land from John Reeder for a new chapel, paying 2000 lbs. tob. for it. This building was constructed the following year at a cost of 37 pounds sterling exclusive of the pews, and 38,524 lbs. in tobacco. Again, there is no location given of the lot. In 1770 the Rev. John Stephen seems to have had entire charge of the Parish. Among the expenses of this date are: Making the communion table cloth of silk, 0/3/6; Irish linen 1/2/6.

The Book of Records now returns to the year 1720, after the Rev. Mr. Scott was inducted. Alterations to the Church are almost constant. "The West end of the Church is to be taken down, new posts, ground sills, and all other things that are wanting, including a pulpit, were to be placed within it. Articles for the Church are sent for from England." Quary lead solder for the windows, two chalices and two salvers, two pewter flagons, one folio register book, super-Holland for surplices, two church homilies, green velvet, ten ounces gold orrice, galleon stuff to line the altar cloth, five pounds of fine feathers and fine tucking for the cushion, silk and gold tassels, hooks, eyes and lace, all to cost £12/12/0 sterling. The estimate for repairs is for 17,000 lbs., the order to the undertaker [13] being signed by James Keech, warden, Rev. Robert Scott, Thomas Gosling, John Ashcombe and James King of the Vestry. The contractor was Nathaniel Howard, but he died and was replaced by Thomas Johnson. This last order is signed by Philip Key, vestryman.

[13] Undertaker, the equivalent of the modern builder, or contractor.

10th April, 1721. Annual Easter meeting. Choice is made of Bennett Lowe and Charles Aisquith in the room of Philip Locke and Thomas Gosling as vestrymen. James Keech continued as warden of the Church and John Gibbons of the chapel. Bennett Lowe refused the office of vestryman and was replaced by Hugh Hopewell. Captain Truman Greenfield was chosen in the place of John Ashcombe, deceased. The Vestry is now formed of Capt. Hugh Hopewell, John King, Truman Greenfield, Charles Somerville Smith, and Thomas Aisquith. James Keech continued as clerk to the Parish, and Charles Hodgkin to the chapel. 12,000 lbs. tob. plus 17,000 has recently been spent on the Church. Thomas Johnson has failed to complete the repairs and John Cade has succeeded him.

21st March, 1722. Easter Monday election. Randall Morris and John King were chosen vice Richard Hopewell and John King. Charles Ashcombe and Michael Jenifer were chosen wardens for the coming year. Ashcombe refused to accept the service and was fined 1000 lbs. for non-compliance with the wishes of the parishioners. James Hulse was returned in his place. Thomas Whistler became sexton and agreed to keep clean the churchyard and the spring.

3rd June, 1722. A full vestry meeting at the home of the minister, Mr. Scott. The chapel was ordered to be repaired, Mr. Aisquith to have charge of the work. It was ordered that James King " may have room to build a pew, and may take two families in with him, Hugh Hopewell's and Edward King's. Michael Jenifer is allowed to build a pew " next to " James King, the pew to be 4′ wide, and the length of Mr. Read's. Captain Truman Greenfield and Charles Smith also have " liberty " to build a pew in the Church, in the new addition thereto. John Anderson is to build a pew in the same location. Mr. Richard Estep and Mr. Goslin are also to have pews, and receive John Burroughs, Lawrence Lant and John Edwards. Rev. Robert Scott, Thomas Crabb and William Smith are to have pews " forever." Samuel Williamson, Capt. John Briscoe and Thomas Swann have permission to build a pew in the body

of the Church next to Capt. Greenfield. Mrs. Elizabeth Keech is to have a pew next the pulpit. James Wood, Mr. Lent, Jonas Baker, Abraham Parker, James Galwith, James Hulse, James Summervell, John Ramsey, Jonas Parker, Christopher Jones and William Parker are all to have pews.

14th April, 1723. Annual Easter meeting. Samuel Abell and John Read were made vestrymen; Samuel Wood and Davis Evans wardens of the Church and chapel. The new addition to the Church is ordered to "be extended to the door of the old part, and a new window to be cut behind the pulpit, the work to be done by John Cade, undertaker." It was ordered that the church-wardens "procure white wands in order to restrain ill-behavior in the Church for the time to come." Ordered that Samuel Wood have a glazier glaze the Church, the work to be done at 6 d. a foot. Ordered that only Giles Cooper be allowed to build pews in the Church, he finishing them for 350 lbs., except locks.

6th April, 1723. Easter Monday election. Captain Thomas T. Greenfield and John Cartwright were chosen vestrymen. Captain Truman Greenfield and Robert Hutchins became wardens (the names of the retiring vestrymen are omitted). James Keech declined the office of registrar, whereupon Charles Hodgkin was appointed.

The entire Vestry is formed by Rev. Robert Scott, Randall Morris, Samuel Abell, James Read, John Cartwright, T. T. Greenfield and John Anderson.

24th June, 1724. A Vestry trial for unlawful cohabitation between Mary Russell and John Mitchell was postponed on account of the absence of Mr. Morris, the accuser. It was ordered that William Elliot, Michael Yoe and Peter Aucole have the fourth pew in the new addition. Ordered that John Dave, Samuel Sothoron and John Murphy have the pew next Capt. Greenfield's. New pews are to be built for Capt. Morris and William Smith, and that Mr. Scott have the use of one of them. The chapel is to be strengthened by "plats" and rafters.

29th March, 1725. Michael Jenifer and Philip Clarke became vestrymen; Charles Smith and Robert Hutchins wardens of the Upper and Lower churches, respectively. Thomas Gosling, attorney for Robert Strutton, deceased, presented the Church with a silver tankard, as directed in his will. Ordered that Philip Clarke have "liberty" to build in the porch next Mr. Aisquith's. Samuel Abell is contracted with to weatherboard the chapel, and make two windows in it. He is also to remove the partition between the porch and the body of the edifice.[14]

11th April, 1726. The annual election is held at the Church. The parishioners make choice of Charles Ashcombe and Lawrence Lant for new vestrymen replacing John Read and Samuel Abell. Randall Morris became warden of the Church and James Bowles of the chapel, vice Charles Smith and Robert Hutchins. A copy of the penal laws of the colony is ordered to be read after the service. The pew belonging to Randall Morris is now assigned to Mrs. Priscilla Spaulding and the heirs of Charles Smith. Allan Davis is to have the third pew in the Church. James King has "liberty" to build a pew with Hugh Hopewell. Ordered that Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer and John Leatherhead have a pew adjoining that of Michael Jenifer's on the West side of the Church. It is reported by Henry Gibbons, constable of Resurrection Hundred, that Edmond Plowden and John Read have not entered as taxables. Ordered that the Vestry expects them to pay their 10 per poll tax, and that they will appear before the next Vestry meeting or show cause to the contrary. Philip Clarke, George Bowles, Robert Clarke, Lawrence Lant, Samuel Sothoron, Isaac Shanwell and Alexander Scott are assigned pews in the Church. "Fine Holland is to be procured for a surplice for the Rev. Mr. Scott."

30th October, 1727. At the house of Mr. Scott. The Vestry ordered that Mrs. Mary Keech have of the old glass that

[14] Under the whip of the Rev. Mr. Scott the attendance of the vestrymen is far more punctilious than in the past.

is in the Church, as much as she may have occasion for, paying 5 d. a foot. Ordered that the glass in the possession of Major Truman Greenfield be brought to the chapel. Ordered that Robert Clarke have the pew formerly held by John Leatherhead. Ordered that the extra 5 lb. per poll be continued. Ordered that Charles Hodgdon pull down the old porch to the Church. Ordered that the vacant pews be let in the Church, and the parishioners be notified thereof. At this, irregular, meeting Mr. George Bowles and Robert Clarke were elected vestrymen in the place of T. T. Greenfield and John Cartwright. John Anderton was made warden of the Church and Robert Hutchins was continued at the chapel. Samuel Sothoron also became a member of the vestry, vice Charles Ashcombe, deceased. A pew is assigned to Mr. John Willson.

22nd April, 1728. Easter Monday. The parishioners chose Thomas Brooke and James Wood in the room of Michael Jenifer and Robert Clarke. The new church-wardens were John Chesley and Robert Hutchins, the latter for the chapel. The complete Vestry is Lawrence Lant, Samuel Sothoron, George Bowles, Robert Clarke, Thomas Brooke and James Wood.

7th April, 1729. Easter. Thomas Aisquith and David Jones became vestrymen replacing Lawrence Lant and Samuel Sothoron. The new warden was John Forbes, Robert Hutchins being continued.

30th March, 1730. Thomas Truman Greenfield and John Chesney replaced George Bowles and Robert Clarke for the lower Parish, and Charles Somerset Smith and Richard Hazel became Vestry members for the Upper one. Mr. Scott presided. Cap. Smith declined the position and David Evan was appointed. Charles Hutchins is now clerk to the Vestry. Carter Clarke is registrar. Mr. Scott is to keep the vestry books at his home.

19th November, 1730. The Rev. Mr. Scott announced to the Vestry "in consideration of bodily infirmities" that he would ask for a "ministerial assistant" to be appointed, and

named the Rev. Hugh Jones; also that he be paid 8000 lbs. tob. for his yearly services to the Parish, the salary to be paid out of the regular 40 per poll tax. Charles Hodgkin, an active member of the Parish, died.

19th April, 1731. The new vestrymen are George Plater and John Tomsen, replacing Thomas Brooke and James Wood. Charles Wade became warden of the Upper, and Allan Davies of the Lower church. The parishioners voting at this meeting were: Thomas Brome, Melville Locke, John Estep, John Abell, Philip Clarke, Samuel Abell, James Keech, Samuel Keech, Aquilla Hutchins, George Plater, John Chesley, George Bowles, John Mead, John Thompson, Allen Davies, John Anderson, Jonathan Willson.

Allen Davies qualified as warden of the Church. The Act concerning the fines for profane swearing was read, namely, 850 lbs. on conviction. Mr. Carter Clarke the registrar now keeps the Parish books at his house.[15]

13th July, 1732. At a Vestry meeting of this date John Edwards and John Willson qualify as vestrymen, but it was found that Mr. Edwards was not a freeholder and could not properly serve. James Wood was appointed registrar in Carter Clarke's place, he departing for England. Randall Morris replaced Mr. Edwards. James Wood was disqualified as vestryman, no reason therefor being given.

30th October, 1732. A petition was drawn to the Justices of St. Mary's and Charles Counties requesting an additional 3 lb. per poll in St. Mary's and 5 lb. per poll in Charles, for Parish purposes. Mr. Scott was requested to keep in his custody the gold lace and ten window "stages," the property of the Parish.

26th March, 1733. Easter election held at the chapel-of-ease. Randall Morris and Philip Clarke became vestrymen. John Anderton became warden of the Church, and John N. Hasler of the chapel. John Bramwell was paid for "stopping

[15] Any note of the annual meeting for the year 1732 seems to have been omitted from the record, and is replaced by the following entry.

the holes in the Church." A constant reference is made to the necessity of keeping the Church Spring clean.

3rd February, 1734. In the presence of George Plater, Philip Clarke, and Thomas Aisquith, and a body of parishioners, the Rev. Arthur Holt exhibited a letter of introduction from Governor Ogle to the Vestry as minister to All Faith's Parish. The instrument was ordered to spread on the Parish book.

The Rev. Mr. Scott had died, the date not being given, but in this year. Mr. Philip Key was administrator of his estate. The Vestry call on Mr. Key to place in order the glebe lately occupied by the minister, and keep the livestock in good hands.

12th April, 1734. Good Friday. The Vestry is now formed of the Rev. Mr. Holt, John Tompsen, George Plater, John Edwards, Randall Morris, Thomas Aisquith and John Forbes. John Anderton and Richard Hasler were wardens with William Wilkinson. Jonathan Willson was recorder, and receipts for books A and B of the Vestry. An entry says that Mr. Scott so neglected the glebe "that it is quite gone to ruin," only the Vestry house remaining on it. The patent of "Greenfield" the property left to the Parish by Mr. Dansey was delivered to the Vestry by Mr. Lant. This is the property sold to the Ashcombes. The Church plate is to be delivered to Mr. Williamson by John Anderton.

24th June, 1734. Lawrence Lant ran the "lines" of the Churchyard, and James Keech gave an additional half-acre for a yard, the original acre having been bought from John Price, carpenter, in 1692, the Church then standing on it. The bounds of the lot are to be marked by cedar posts.[16]

After consideration, it was ordered that the pulpit and desks

[16] The church building is now in such deplorable condition that the walls on the South side have to be supported by props. The chancel has also to be supported in the same way. The new half-acre joins the old yard on the northwest side. In the Vestry record it appears that the lot of land formerly sold by Price lay at the northwest corner of a tract formerly sold to Cornelius Wilkinson, which was by the said Wilkinson transferred to Capt. James Keech, deceased, and lies by a roadside. The new half-acre is given by James Keech, the grandson of the Captain. Sur. by Law. Lant. Plat to be recorded in the vestrybook.

in the Church be removed and placed in the charge of the Rev. Mr. Holt.

1st October, 1734. The incumbent, Mr. Holt, left the Parish after an eight months stay.

11th November, 1734. The Vestry received the Rev. John Urquahart, who presented a letter of introduction from Governor Ogle, constituting him rector of All Faith's Church. This letter was dated Annapolis, 25th October, 1734. It was considered at this meeting whether it was proper to devote any balance of the 40 per poll tax for the year to the repair of the Church, or solely to the repair of the glebe buildings. The decision was to repair the glebe, the churches, "both Upper and Lower being incapable of repair." John Edwards was, however, instructed to do the best he could towards repairs to them.

7h April, 1735. Easter Election. The parishioners made choice of Samuel Jenifer and John Estep as wardens in the place of John Edwards and William Wilkinson.

The next meeting of the Vestry was at St. Mary's Court House (Leonardtown). There were present Mr. Urquahart, Philip Clarke, Thomas Aisquith, Samuel Jenifer, and Richard Hame, the last a warden. Philip Key, the executor of the Rev. Mr. Scott came before the Vestry and demanded that part of the 40 per poll tax that was due Mr. Scott at his death, which appeared to be twenty-five days. Mr. Scott received 29,000 lbs. yearly. The amount due to the estate would be 2070 lbs.

A petition addressed to the Justices of St. Mary's County was read to ascertain the confines of the glebe and plat the same. (This plat is entered in the Vestry record).

9th March, 1736. A meeting at the chapel. 570 taxables are reported living in the St. Mary's portion of the parish. Messrs. James Swan, John Johnson Sothoron, James Briscoe and Robert Elliot were appointed Commissioners by James Read, the County official of the Lord Baltimore to lay out a piece of land called Fan Kirk in All Faith's Parish, the present glebe, the bounds of which are "antient" and decide whether the land belong to any other than the Parish. Peregrine Jowles

first ran the metes. An assessment of 6 d. per poll was voted on the taxables of Charles and St. Mary's Counties, later to be modified to 3 d.

11th April, 1737. Three new vestrymen and two wardens were to be chosen at this election. Choice was made of William Wilkinson, Michael Taney and Thomas Taney for vestrymen, and Samuel Abell and Samuel Jenifer in the room of John Cartwright and John Anderson. Aquilla Hutchins was continued at the lower church.[17]

11th November, 1737. At a Vestry meeting held at the chapel a Vestry Room was ordered to be built, 16′ x 12′, with an inside chimney.

1738. There is no record of an Easter meeting this Spring. The members of the Vestry were John Read, John Chesley, William Wilkinson, Samuel Abell, John Abell and Michael Taney. John Read is clerk to the Vestry, and Thomas Bramhall continued as sexton. Mr. Willson, register, delivered to the Vestry Liber A. and B. of the register books, and a deed from Richard Webb to Raphael Hayward, also one from Hayward to the Vestry for the glebe, also, a patent for 12 acres of land called Greenfield. George Bowles and John Abell were the present church-wardens, respectively, of the Church and chapel.

9th May, 1739. The annual meeting of the Vestry and parishioners was held at the Church. Three new vestrymen and two wardens were to be elected. Choice was made of Thomas Reeder, John Edwards and Samuel Sothoron for vestrymen in the place of John Chesley, John Abell and John Read. Samuel Wood became warden in the room of George Bowles at the Church, and Philip Clarke at the chapel vice John Abell. Bramwell was continued as sexton for both churches with salaries of 40 shillings for the lower and 30 for the Upper one.

" The parishioners sent a petition to the Assembly for an

[17] The coinage of Great Britain is now current in the Colony, but only replaces tobacco in part.

Act enabling them to levy for as much money as would enable them to build a church. Mr. Philip Key will write the petition at the instance of Mr. Urquahart. A question arose whether the land on which the chapel stood belonged to the Parish. "John Read stated that he had heard Robert Hutchins say that William Hutchins had given two acres of land for the use of the chapel in consideration of having a pew next the window on the South side."

29th April, 1740. Easter general meeting. The Vestry of this date were Philip Tucker, Thomas Reeder, John Edwards, Samuel Sothoron, Thomas L. Greenfield, J. Michael Taney. Thomas Willson and Aquilla Hutchins were wardens. James Hutchinson was clerk to the vestry vice John Read.[18]

30th March, 1741. Annual Meeting. Only one new vestryman seems to have been chosen, Philip Read. Samuel Jenifer and Thomas Greenfield became wardens. Notice was given that the petition of the Assembly had been duly sent to Annapolis. This was to rebuild the Church.

26th April, 1742. Annual. At this election three vestrymen were to be selected. Choice was made of Philip Clarke, James Keech and John Burroughs, for the Vestry in the place of Samuel Sothoron, John Edwards and Thomas Reeder. Samuel Jenifer became warden of the chapel and Joseph Wood of the Church, the latter in the place of Thomas Greenfield. It was ordered that the patents and deeds of the Parish lands be delivered to the Rev. Mr. Urquahart, namely: John Boag's conveyance for 500 acres; Webb's conveyance to Raphael Hayward; Hayward's conveyance of 250 acres to the Vestry, and the patent for Greenfield. The pulpit now in the Church was to be re-located so as to give greater light for reading, this to be done by James Keech. Fines were ordered for Charles King, T. T. Greenfield and Philip Clarke for non-attendance at meetings. Ordered that Mrs. Richard Burroughs buy a table cloth and four napkins for the use of the Church.

[18] The attendance of the vestrymen on meetings is by no means as regular as under Mr. Scott.

4th April, 1743. Easter election. The parishioners chose Col. George Plater and John Chesley, to replace Capt. Greenfield and Charles King, vestrymen, and Samuel Sothoron and Samuel Abell vice Richard Burroughs and Samuel Jenifer as wardens. Thomas Hutchinson was continued as sexton of the chapel.

26th March, 1744. The annual meeting was held at the chapel. Choice was made of Samuel Abell for vestryman in the room of Philip Read, and of John Cartwright as warden of the Upper and of Thomas Fish for the Lower church. The sexton is to acquaint Thomas Wilton that he has no right in Mr. Sothoron's pew. Twelve pence is to be asked of the County Court for parish expenses instead of the 40 per poll tax.

(*To Be Continued.*)

LIEUT. NOAH DIXON WALKER[1] TO HIS FATHER NOAH WALKER.

Camp 44th *Va. Infantry*
Port Royal. Feby 10th, 1863.

My Very Dear Father,

It has been my purpose for many months to obey the promptings and dictates of that ardent and profound affection, which

[1] Noah Dixon Walker, the son of Noah Walker and his wife Sarah Ann (Caughy) Walker, was born in Baltimore, May 17, 1834. He was a man of exceptional literary attainments, and of exemplary character. He was a student of the classics and collected a fine library, gathered personally during his visits to England and Continental Europe. At the outbreak of the Civil War he went to Richmond and offered his services in aid of the Confederacy. He raised a Company and was offered the Captaincy, but declined, and became the first Lieutenant in the 44th Virginia Regiment, C. S. A.

He was killed at Chancellorsville in the second day's battle, Sunday, May 3, 1863. He was buried on the battle field, but later was removed to Richmond and interred in Hollywood Cemetery. About 1868 his body was

I have always from the earliest period of my youth felt for you, and address you a letter containing an account of my career since I left home. At the beginning of the present revolution which has separated the Northern from the Southern states, and given birth to the Confederate Government, I perceived that it was a struggle between Liberty, on the one side, and Tyranny on the other. I believed that Abraham Lincoln had been placed in power by an insane political faction, upon the ruins of our once sacred Constitution, and that he and his party, to possess and hold the political power of the country, would perpetrate any act, however outrageous, to continue their unconstitutional authority. The accuracy of these opinions, formed at the inception of the revolution, have been fully proved and confirmed by the subsequent events. Holding these views of our political condition I determined to go to Virginia, espouse the holy cause of Southern freedom, and to enlist and battle under the sacred banner of independence. Following this determination I left Baltimore, came to Richmond and entered the Confederate Army as a Second Lieutenant, on the 10th day of June 1861, in the 44th Regt Va Infantry. My Regiment remained about three weeks in a camp of Instruction, and was then ordered to North Western Virginia, just before our disaster in that section, in July 1861, for the purpose of reinforcing Gen'l Garnet. Disaster, though, befell our arms at Rich Mountain, and we were compelled to abandon a portion of that part of Virginia. I continued serving in that part of the State during the whole of the North Western Campaign, first under Gen'l Ro. E. Lee, Gen'l H. B. Jackson, then Loring and Edward Johnson. I served in this country from 1 July 1861 to the 1st of May 1862. And just here, it is proper that I should tell you that this North Western Virginia Campaign was considered by all to be the severest and most arduous that any part of our Army passed through.

again disinterred and reburied in Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore. He was unmarried. The original letter has been presented to the Maryland Historical Society by Henry M. Walker, Esq.

We served for the most part in a bleak barren and extremely cold mountainous country, and our sufferings from the weather alone, were of the most intense nature.

In May last, while our North Western Virginia Army was lying in the little village of West View, Augusta County, Va., and before the overpowering number of Bank's army, it was determined by Gen'l Jackson to form a junction of the two armies, and attack Gen'l Milroy, the Federal officer, then commanding the North Western Army, which was then occupying a place called McDowells, in Highland County Va. In accordance with Gen'l Jacksons' plans the two armies were united, and we attacked the Enemy, drove him from his position and pursued him down into Pendleton Co. Va. This was my first connection with the army of Stonewall Jackson. In the latter part of May, Gen'l Jackson began his movement down the Valley, and fought the battle of Front Royal and Winchester, completely routing the army of Gen'l Banks and driving him out of Va. and across the Potomac. The enemy, with the hope of retrieving the loss sustained by this defeat, and also with the hope of inflicting some punishment upon Gen'l Jackson, and his army, began making movements upon his rear, front and flank. These movements produced the battles of Strasburg, Harrisonburg and Cross Keys, with Freemont, and Port Republic, with Shields, in all of which we were victorious. In all of these battles, I participated with my regiment, and in two of them it distinguished itself, above all others which participated in them. At Cross Keys we charged the famous Garibaldi Guard of New York, & routed them, and they numbered at least four times our strength. And again, brave old Gen'l Ewell gave us credit on the field of Port Republic of saving the battle. And in this field it is proper that I should tell you my beloved father that my own conduct was such as to elicit the praise of both my Col. Wm. C. Scott, and of Maj. Gen. Ewell. After the last named battle my company was so reduced that it was sent to Richmond to recruit. We recruited for some two months, when we were ordered to Battery No. 8, one of the defences of that

city. Here we remained for about the same length of time, and from that place we were ordered to the Army of Northern Virginia of which you of course know that Gen'l Lee is the head and commander. I am now the 1st Lieutenant of my company and hope ere long to be advanced still higher. My company is in that proud and distinguished division of the army Stonewall Jackson's Corps. You thus see, thanks to Almighty God, I, have passed through seven pitched battles uninjured, and it is my ardent hope that his omnipresent arm will continue to protect me until I am restored to you and family and my friends. In all these events of danger trials and hardships through which I have passed since I have parted with you my beloved father, a recollection of you has been my constant stimulus to exertion, a recollection of the pride and joy you would feel in any success of mine, has been my perpetual inducement to increased and greater efforts. It was with great distress, I learned some time since of the death of Cousin John. Express to Aunt Lizzie and Dorcas, my sympathy for them in their great trouble. Give my Kindest love to Brother Ben and the children, also to all my relatives. Nothing more but remain, Your affectionate Son.

N. D. W.

I suppose you have heard, before this, of the death of George Martin, who was formerly a clerk in the store. He was killed by the explosion of a gun in the second battle of Manasses. He was a very good young man, and a true patriot, and entered the Confederate Army during the darkest period of the war, just after our reverses at Roanoke Island & Fort Donelson, and the fall of New Orleans dear friend fallen a martyr to the cause of Freedom. He received a mortal wound at the battle of Gaine's Mills, before Richmond, whilst gallantly leading a charge of his regiment, the 11th Texans, of which he was the Lt. Col. Nelson Read has improved since but is still very feeble, and ought to go home. I hope you have taken good care of my books and still

continue the subscription to the Illustrated London News, Appelton's Encyclopedia and the other periodicals I was subscriber to previous to leaving home. Tell Mr. Irving to attend to them for me.

N. D. W.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

October 14, 1935.—The regular meeting of the Society was called to order at 8.15 p. m. by Vice-President J. Hall Pleasants, in the absence of President Clinton L. Riggs.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, as read.

Mr. Shriver, Corresponding Secretary, read the list of donations made to the Library and Gallery during the summer months, and gave a brief account of the most interesting ones.

It was reported that Mrs. Gilman Paul made a gift of $200.00 for the restoration and arrangement of our valuable collection of maps.

It was reported that representatives from the National Museum in Washington visited our building and were most impressed with our collections, but particularly so with the swords which we have on display. They have volunteered their services in assisting to write up the history of our swords.

The following named persons were elected to membership:

Life

Mrs. Katharine Mackenzie Brevitt

Active

Mrs. Tunstall Smith
Mrs. N. Winslow Williams
Mrs. Henry Alfred Todd
Mr. Pinkney McLean
Mr. Joseph H. Himes
Mr. Frederick R. Bartlett
Mr. H. Morton Merriman
Mrs. William B. Bland
Mr. J. W. Scott
Mr. Charles B. Owens

Dr. Walter R. Graham, Jr.
Dr. William B. Howell
Mr. Albert B. Hoen
Miss Margaret D. Boehm
Mr. Walter F. Perkins
Mr. Robert B. Harrison
Mr. Morgan Marshall
Miss Mary Louise Johnson
Mr. Don Swann
Mr. Milton Campbell
Mr. R. Contee Rose
Mrs. Henry Lockhart
Mr. Henry Lockhart, Jr.
Mrs. Ella V. Mahoney
Capt. Thomas K. Vincet, U. S. A.
Mr. W. Wiley Hopkins
Mr. Walter S. Caldwell
Mrs. Alice L. L. Ferguson
Mr. Leon Miller
Mr. Thomas Mitchell Jenifer
Mrs. Archibald Stuart Chalfant
Dr. H. Lawrence Wheeler
Mrs. James Walter Thomas
Dr. S. Griffith Davis
Mr. Herrick F. Kidder
Miss Leonora V. Shower
Dr. Cyrus F. Horine
Miss Lydia E. Spence

Associate

Mr. Richard Bateman Miller
Mr. James E. Lee
Miss Laura Leach
Mr. Tracy W. McGregor
Mr. Kennedy C. Watkins
Mr. W. Eldridge Lowe
Mr. Evan Rinehart
Mr. Ruben G. Steinmeyer
Mr. David Haines Ball
Mrs. Caroline C. Greenway

A letter from Mayor Jackson asked the Society to appoint one of its members to represent the Society on the Art Commission of the City of Baltimore. Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler, Chairman of the Gallery Committee of the Society, our former representative on the Art Commission, was reappointed with the approval of the society.

Since the last meeting of the Society we have had a serious loss in the death of our most efficient Librarian, Charles Fickus. We would like the members to know that we have not only lost a very able Librarian, but one whose knowledge of manuscripts in the possession of the Society made it possible for him to tell investigators what particular manuscripts or papers would be most helpful.

The following minute, adopted by the Council, was read:

"The Council of the Maryland Historical Society wish to record an expression of their feeling of profound sorrow upon learning of the death on October 3rd of Charles Fickus, Librarian of the Society. During his connection with the Society for a period of twenty-three years, Mr. Fickus was unswervingly devoted to its interests, his loyalty and intelligent appreciation of his varied responsibilities contributing greatly to the pleasure and satisfaction not only of members of the society, but of the large number of others, who during his term of service used its facilities.

"The Council in recording this evidence of its appreciation of the personal qualities and service of Mr. Fickus, desires also to extend to his family its sympathy in the loss which they have sustained."

The sentiment of the Council, as expressed in the above Minute, was adopted as the general feeling of the Members of the Society and upon motion duly seconded and unanimously carried.

The Members of the Society were asked to attend, if possible, the service on October 19th, 1935, at West Nottingham Academy in celebration of "Founders Day."

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Mrs. J. Appleton Wilson, July 3, 1935.
Mr. Thornton Rollins, July 6, 1935.
Mrs. G. Ridgely Sappington, August 20, 1935.
Mr. Theodore A. Steinmueller, September 12, 1935.
Mr. John J. Nelligan, October 13th, 1935.

It was reported that certain donations had been made towards the purchase of a miniature said to be Francis Scott Key at the age of 19 years.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Founders of the Colonial Families of Ridgely, Dorsey, and Greenberry, of Maryland. By Henry Ridgely Evans, Litt. D. Washington, 1935. Pp. 45.

This brochure contains informal genealogies of the families named in the title, the material having been secured, in part in England, but the work of local genealogists has been heavily drawn upon. It is illustrated with ten half tones, and is well printed, but lacks an index.

Correction. In vol. 29, p. 329, line 11 of the "Disney Bible," should read: Lucy Owings Disney, married Gustavus Timanus (seven times Mayor of Laurel, Md.)

Information wanted concerning Ballinger family. According to Record of Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's County Md., Francis Ballinger and his wife Judith had the following children:

Elizabeth,	born	2 June 1701
John,	"	19 April 1703
William,	"	16 April 1705
Richard,	"	25 May 1706

Was the William Ballinger in list of non-enrollers, April 22, 1776, (*Md. Hist. Mag.* vol. 11, p. 249) the William Ballinger of the above record?

Mrs. W. M. Sherard,
1110 4th Ave., West Hendersonville, N. C.

Hance—Johns. Jacob and Jane (Johns) Hance, removed from Calvert County, Md., to Belmont County, Ohio, in 1837. They had children, Rebecca, Kinsey, Benjamin J., George W., James J., Elizabeth, and Jacob Thomas, all born in Calvert County. Who were the parents of Jacob Hance, and Jane Johns?

John A. Sherman,
2015 Ivar Ave., Hollywood, California

Compton—Briscoe. Who were the parents of William Stephen Compton, 1760-1843. Who were the parents of his wife Chloe Briscoe, b. 31 March 1764; died 1846, both from Southern Maryland, and later removed to West Virginia?

Who were the parents of Stephen Compton who married Mary Joy?

Mrs. Katharine Nicols Grove,
1921 19th St., Washington, D. C.

Holland. Wanted parents of Nathan Holland, who took Oath of Allegiance in Montgomery County, Md., and who married Sarah Waters. Was he related to Frances Holland (Heitman)?

Miss Cordelia Jackson,
3420 Prospect Ave., Washington, D. C.

Plumer—Farrell. Information wanted concerning the parents and ancestors of Anne Farrel, who married Jonathan Plumer in 1754, at Oldtown, Md. The Plumers later were among the first settlers at Fort Pitt, Pa. Their son, George, was the first white child born west of the Allegheny Mountains in British territory, and later was a member of Congress from Pennsylvania.

Luther F. Carlton,
1242 South Kenmore, Los Angeles, California

Arnold. (a) Benjamin Roser or Rosier claimed right to 150 acres of land, Feb. 16, 1671, for transporting one Benjamin Arnold, into the Province. Information wanted concerning Benjamin Arnold and his family?

(b) Maryland Calendar of Wills, Vol. 2, p. 30, will dated Jan. 12, 1686, shows that Thomas Maddox, Anne Arundel Co., Md., married Rachel, daughter of Anthony Arnold. Who was the father of Anthony Arnold? What was the Maiden name of Rachel, his wife?

(c) Maryland Calendar of Wills, Vol. 1, p. 4, Thomas Arnold, Nov. 11, 1645. Who was the father of this Thomas Arnold? When and where was he born?

Mrs. W. M. Sherard,
1110 4th Ave., West Hendersonville, N. C.

Griffith—Abel Griffith who married April 2, 1834, Hannah Gore, who were her parents? Information on the Gore family of Maryland, or Pa.

Benjamin Griffith who married Frances Morris, of Pa. or Md.

Mrs. Charles B. Hynson,
9045 Whitney Ave., Elmhurst, L. I., New York

Stoddert. Information wanted of the parents, grand parents and great grandparents of Benjamin Stoddert, Secretary of the Navy in 1798.

Dr. Percy G. Hamlin,
Station F., Box 4812, Philadelphia

Altizer. Information wanted concerning Emera Altizer (called also Ambrose Altizer), a native of Germany, who in July 1773 married at Hagerstown, Mary ———, aged 14 years; lived in Berkeley Co., W. Va., and Frederick County, Md. The husband died in 1819 and the wife in 1850. Tradition says that Altizer was kidnapped when a child.

Mrs. Charles V. Bray,
West Point, Va.

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